

Richard Cosin



for Pretended Reformation: 4

viz.

Presbyteriall Discipline.

A Treatise discovering the late designments and courses
held for advancement thereof, by *William Hacket* Yeoman,
Edmund Coppinger, and *Henry Arthington* Gent. out of others depositions and their
owne letters, writings & confessions vpon examination:

Together

With some part of the life and conditions, and the two
Indictments, Arraignment, and Execution of the sayd *Hacket*:

Also

An answer to the calumniation of such as affirme they
were mad men: and a resemblance of this action vnto the like, happened heretofore in Germanie.

Printed September. 1592.

Prou. esp. 30. v. 12.

There is a generation that are pure in their owne conceits: and yet are not washed
from their filthinesse.

2. ad Timoth. esp. 3. v. 5.

Having a shew of godlinesse, but haue denied the power thereof, nor are they there-
fore from such.

Published now by authoritie.

Printed at London by the Deputies of

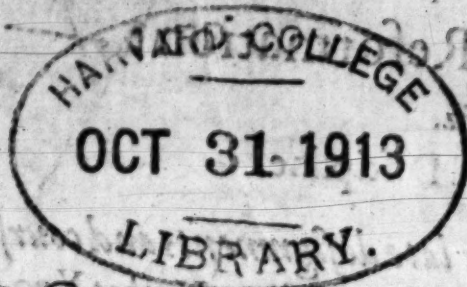
CHRISTOPHER BARKER Printer to
the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.

Anno Domini
1592.

Lines p. 366. W. p. 1006

Br 1735. 165. 95*

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Great fluid



TO THE READER.



DIVERS haue hitherto diuersly reported of this Action & of the Actors in it, according to their owne seuerall intelligences attained thereof, and to the humours they are led by. And albeit the matter (falling out not many moneths since) might seeme to be in fresh remembrance of many: yet sundry there are which hitherto know not the very particular dangerous attempts and outrages, into which these men burst out, and the most part (I thinke) haue not heard what was the originall cause of such their discontentment, or the maine drift and purpose of all their designments, nor of any the wayes and meanes by them vsed, for furthering and atchieuing the principall scope they shot at, nor of any their counsels and cariage of the action, nor yet who were their complices that were made acquainted with the matter, in some generall or more speciall termes.

By want of knowledge of which things, sundry peruerse and sinister conceits and misdeemings haue arisen, and are blowen abroad amongst the people, which seeme meete to be abated, and reformed in them.

To the Reader.

For the Papist our common enimie, in some late writings from beyond the seas, hath (as I am informed) wrested these mens dealings to another end. And sundry at home, who would seeme more moderate then many other of their owne iudgement, yet in fauour of the persons, or (which I iudge rather) vpon liking of their opinion in matter of church-gouernement, haue allowed their meanings to haue bene good, though they mislike (somewhat they say) of the maner. Others seek to disguise the very purposes of these mē, as if that which (in trueth) was most, had bene least of all entended by them. There are some also, purposing to extenuate the fault, and to preuent that so iust a blot may not fall vpon the meanest fauourer of pretended reformation, who will needs make them to haue bene starke madde, and such as knew not what they sayd or did. And there want not certaine also, who vnder pretence of pitie and commiseration towards them, are sayd not to spare to mutter abroad, that matters are made worse and of greater consequence and perill then they be in deed: and that these men with some others were prosecuted with greater vehemencie and sharpenesse, then the cause it selfe or qualitie of their seuerall offences might iustly minister occasion.

All which vntrue surmises and imputations, what doe they els but apparantly and directly tend vnto the iniurie, deprauation and flaunder of the honorable Iustice of this realme and state? for assertion and clearing whereof from such calumniations, and to make manifest also the very trueth of these matters vnto all that are desirous to be enformed aright in them: it is thought meete that this treatise (for good considerations hitherto staied since it was finished) should now at length be published.

Whereby I make no doubt, but it will appeare to any that shall be pleased to peruse it with a single eie, how important

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portant these causes are to be thoroughly looked into, for the weight and danger of them: how honorable the proceedings in them haue bene for maner: and how exceeding milde and mercifull a course hath bene holden by the state, not onely with some of the chiefe dealers, but also with sundry others notable concurrents in the Action, who though they be sufficiently well knowen, yet hitherto haue not bene so much as called into question: howe farre soeuer (perhaps) they may seeme vnto some (not vnwise) to haue waded therein, or to haue entertained intelligence of it, both dangerously and vndutifully. So farre is her excellent Maiestie, and the whole state from aggrauating mens offences, yea, and from taking aduantage, euen when most iust occasion (sometimes) is offered.

I pray God this notable rare clemencie, may be hereafter answered (by those who both in this & other matters stande not a litle neede of it, howe litle soeuer they acknowledge it) with that measure of dutifull remembrance and thankfulness, which it woorthely deserueth at their handes.

Amen.

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WHEN in the tyme of professing the trueth of religion, such as pretend greatest sinceritie and zeale, doe fall into fanaticall fantasies and dangerous attempts: then some doe thereupon stagger in the doctrine, and are scandalized: some be quite driuen backe: and others are caried euen with open mouth to slander and to reproch the very profession of the Gospell. The two first of which, are of the weaker, but the last are of the wickedder sort. For these are straight way ready to make comparisons betwixt the times, and to declaim largely, concerning the sweete and golden quiet, with agreement in iudgement, which they (erroneously) conceiue, to haue continually accompanied the times of superstition and blindnes.

But though this were vniuersally true, which is farre otherwise: yet both the one sort and the other, are dangerously deceiued and transported into misdeeming by want of due consideration, what is the very well-spring and occasion of such accidents vnder the profession of the Gospell.

For when Sathan the deceiuingemie of mankind, had in the times of Poperie by insensible and as it were obscure degrees (vnder a colour of Religion and deuotion) enuenomed once the very fountaines of doctrine with many pestilent errours, much superstition, and grosse Idolatrie, and had almost quite dammed up the light of the glorious Gospell: then was it no maruell, though he here rested his labours, as being (in some sort) arrived vnto the maine ende of all his drifts and purposes. In so much as this once atchieued, the rest were sufficiently able to goe forward of themselves. For vpon corruptiō of faith & doctrine, must needes ensue either open corruption of life and conuersation, or at least corruption, masked vnder a vaile of hypocrisie: be-
cause

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cause he that walketh in darkenes, knoweth not whither he goeth, and a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruite. Therefore after the victorie gotten, that he might more deeply deceiue and surely retaine, whome he had caught, he thought it requisite (at some seasons) upon these corruptions, to weaue a vail of pretended vnitie, and as it were to candie and sweeten them ouer with the louely shewe of peace and agreement: which neuerthelesse being without Veritie, is nothing else, but a lewde Conspiracie, and is rather a deadly sleepe wherewith men be ouerwhelmed, then an vnitie of the spirite in the bond of peace. For where all is subdued, what needes any further resistance? And where a strong man keepes the house, all that he possesseth are in quiet, till a stronger then he doe come to dispossesse him.

But when as God taking compassion of his Church in the eies of his mercie, had in these latter times made the day-starre to shine againe in our hearts, no sooner did the beames of his Gospell beginne to glimpe and breake forth, but the old craftie serpent (knowing his kingdome to be innuaded a fresh, and his time but short) began in great wrath to rouse up himselfe againe, and to hammer ouer a new, all his long approued wicked experiments, and to plant new engines for the discredite and hinderance of the passage and propagation of the Gospell.

This he plotteth (besides many other meanes) by seducing some that professe it, into sedition and errour: and so in their persons he bringeth the profession it selfe into obloquie and hatred with such, as afore did thinke hardly of it, or were not perswaded it was the trueth. For by reason of his Angelicall substance, corrupted with Diabolicall malice, and by long experience euen of 5553. yeeres continuance, he is now become mille-artifex, his perfite crafts-master in infinite deuises and subtilties. So that he doeth at sundry times very manifoldly and variably suggest and plot, not onely seuerall and diuers, but sometimes euen contrary opinions and actions, one to another; howbeit all to one and the selfe same generall ende, of seducing mankinde.

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mankinde. Therefore (amongst his infinite deceites for hindrance of the Gospell, and of mans saluation by it) some whome he cannot peruert in doctrine, he seeketh to attaint in life. Others whome he cannot so easily seduce in their conuersation, he oftentimes soweth his cockle & darnel of superstition, schisme, & heresie in their hearts, and so peruerteth them in iudgement, and matter of religion. Some whom he cannot entangle by one sinne, he tempteth to ouerthrowe by a sinne contrary vnto it. Others whom he cannot snare by grosse and actual sinnes, he gets ground of, by making them haue ouer great estimation of their owne supposed vertues and puritie: so that they growe hereby both to a conceite and selfe loue of themselves, and also to contemne and condemne others with the Pharise, saying: Oh God, I thanke thee, that I am not as other men are: or as the Prophet speaketh touching such proud hypocrites, Depart from me, for I am holier then thou. Others he draweth into error by mistaking of the true qualitie or cause of things, as when, not being able to corrupt the general doctrine of the church, he perswadeth Preachers most to insist vpon matters of meere circumstance, as if they were of especial necessitie, and procureth the outward gouernment & discipline to be obtruded & beat vpo, for a principal point of doctrine. So that matters of the substance of doctrine & faith in deede, do either wholly slippe by vntaught, or els are so sleightly and ignorantly slubbered ouer by such Preachers, that the common aduersarie the Papist, is thereby rather hardened then conuincd in his opinions. Which practise may hereby appeare to be the very subtiltie of Sathan, for that such doe vse farre more earnestnes and diligence to plant and bring in that their discipline, then they doe for retaining of purity & soundnes of doctrine, and are lesse incensed and vehement against Papistes, then they are against such as impugne that fancie.

Out of this head springs also that error of some, who doe attribute all disorder and personall faultes of men about execution of lawes, vnto the lawes themselves, and vnto the verie pollicie

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of the Church: thereupon gathering with themselves, that the plot of Discipline (if it might come in place) will surely serue as a Mithridate and a soueraigne salve, to heale (with short applying) all diseases and sores, both of Church & Common wealth. Certaine be so bewitched (in like sort) by a kind of admiration of that, which is (in it selfe) most necessarie, as that in the meane time they ouerslippe matters of no lesse importance in the life of a Christian, because they thinke it sufficient, to be occupied onely about the other.

Hereupon it commeth, that sundry doe attribute so much to the hearing of the word preached, that neither publike nor priuate reading of Scripture, workes of charitie, praying, nor practise of that which is preached, is any whit almost regarded of them. Whereby they are alwaies learning, but neuer come vnto the knowledge of the trueth, as if the very worke wrought of hearing alone could make them good and perfect Christians. So that where in olde time there were certaine heretikes called *anachorites*, who did nothing but pray: so (not without cause) haue some feared, lest such persons would bring in an heresie of *anachorites*, putting all religion in bare hearing of Sermons. Diuerse also there are, who are so whetted against the abuse of things, that the Seducer hereby taketh opportunitie, to drawe them to omit euen the good and commendable vse of them. Such are those, that because they will not seeme to confirme Gods trueth by humane testimonie, doe therefore despise all light and helpe of good aries, and learned Interpreters, and in steede of them, doe in their sermons nothing els, but blase out their own friuolous and unsound Collections, trifling out the time (without order and methode) by an heape of earnest and resonant, but undigested wordes, vaine repetitions, tautologies and battologies, without any substance of matter, to the great abuse of their auditorie, and of that excellent worke. Many also are so afraide to fall into superstitious obseruation of daies, commanded for abstinence and avoiding of most nutritiue diet, that at such times they doe vsu-

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ally most pamper their vile flesh, even with a purposed and settled contempt of good lawes, in that behalfe provided. Neither will this kinde of persons (for the most part) use any priuate fasting, for subduing the body, but must haue a whole side of a Countrey, or an whole familie at least, knowe when they fast, and will not sticke to ride out a dosen or twentie miles from home to fast with others for companie (though without publike authoritie) there to make ostentation of great humbling themselves, by abstaining perhaps from one meale, howe plentifully and delicately soeuer they do fare at suppers, or at their next meale. Likewise, to auoid opinion of superstitious worship of the outward elements at Cōmunion, sundry doe refuse to kneele at the perception of it: and of the contrary side doe fall to a prophane and swinish (at least outward) irreuerence of that high and excellent mysterie. Others there are, who in auoiding superstition, are themselves become little lesse, then superstitious. For albeit the holy Ghost condemneth want of natural affection, as a sinne: yet such persons, when their husbands, parents, or friends doe die, are so farre from moderate sorowe or mourning for them (lest happely they should seeme to doe it superstitiously and excessiuely, as those doe, who haue no hope) that on the contrary, they doe (euen with a kind of superstitious singularitie) auoid all shew of sorow, as if it were a matter vnlawful for any Christians, of their degree of perfection. And therefore they take vnto themselves at such times, Musicke, Rose-marie branches, and other tokens of ioy and great solace. Howbeit, the holy Ghost greatly commendeth the deuotion of them, who buried the Martyr S. Steuen, and made great lamentation for him. Of whose resurrection neuertheless vnto eternal life, those mourners had as good assurace, as any man now can haue touching such, whom these do so pleasantly & iocundly tumble into the pit. Many also he deceaueth and drowneth in sinne and impietie by some similitude and resemblance that it hath vnto vertue and godlines, as, by making that which in deede is ~~idolatrous~~ will-worship, to seeme to be nothing els, but

250 p. 12.
Rom. I.

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an earnest care to serue God: superstition to be taken for obedient deuotion: hypocrisie, for true sinceritie: a shewe of humbling a mans selfe by a meale or twoes abstinence, and hanging downe the head like a bull-rish for true fasting, and subduing of the flesh: calumniation, slander, and disdain of others for an hatred of sinne: rancour and malecontentment, for zeale of Gods glorie: schisme and diuision, for an auoiding of the workes of darkenes and of pollution by them: seditious innouation, for lawfull reformation: presumptuous expostulation in praier with God, for seruencie of the spirite: bitter inuectiues against others in praying, for desire of amendement in them, and to aduance Gods glorie: ouer-weening conceites, for extraordinarie callings and gifts: whot and bloodie panges of malice and crueltye, for motions of Gods spirite and reuelation from him, with such like a great many, moe then a good number. All these and such like, are usuall practises and sleights of Sathan, whereby euen in the time of the Gospel, he cunningly inueigleth and slyly entrappeth many, to the danger of themselves, to the scandall and downefall of others, and to the obloquie of true religion. It is necessarie (saith Christ) that offences come: yet woe be to them, by whom they come. And there must needs be heresies (saith S. Paul) that such as be approoued, may be made manifest. But of all the other, the last sort of them (being suggested by Sathan, under the visard of vertue, godlines, and religion) are most pernicious and diuinish: and the poison of them spreadeth and ranckleth furthest, to the disturbance and perill both of Church and Common-wealth, because hereby the Diuell transfourmeth himselfe into an Angell of light. For as the most noble creature engendred, is most loathsome and base in his corruption: so is the w^{tr}ue pretence and colour of pietie and religion (things of themselves of chiefest price and excellencie) the most dangerous snare and deadly dart, that Sathan can shoote forth. The prophane politique of Macchiauel. our age, coulde obserue, that shewe of pietie and religion

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was the readiest and surest way, to blinde and seduce a multitude. If then this impe of his, could marke it, shall we doubt, but that Sathan himselfe, the forger of all subtilties, can see it, and accordingly also put it in practise? Yea, he hath put in v're this most dangerous deuise, not onely in this action (whereof we entreate) done in our late sight and knowledge, by his seduced instruments William Hacket, Edmund Coppinger, and Henrie Arthington: but at sundry other times also, by other his like factours, since the last renuing of the Gospell, begunne in Germany, in our fathers daies. One or two of the most memorable of which examples recorded in historie, it shall not (I trust) be amisse to compare with these late attempts and actions: both that the one and the other may be better knowen, and auoided hereafter, and that the efficacie of this strong illusion, may more fruitfully be weighed and considered.

Polyenus in
Stratag.

In militarie instructions it is prescribed, not to vse a Stratagem twice together in one age, for feare of ouer fresh remembrance, and thereby of preuention. Therefore Sathan an olde Deuiler, might not in his great policie, so soone after, haue againe assaied this practise so like (in most pointes) to the former in Germany, had he not perfectly knowen (by experience) the efficacie and rare working thereof, and therefore did repose in it, an especiall confidence for raising of tumult, shedding of blood, and ouerthrowe of states.

But before I enter into that Comparison, it is requisite first to make narration of this late Conspiracie, with the circumstances thereof, as it was plotted and carried forward by them, so neere, as I could informe my selfe therein, either by compositions of others, or from their owne letters, writings, and originall confessions vpon examina-

tion.

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CONSPIRACIE, FOR Pretended Reformation.



NE of the three principall persons in this Action (whereof wee intreat) was *Edmund Coppinger*, a gentleman descended of a good house and linage, and one of her *Maiesties* sworne seruants, but a yonger brother, hauing no great liuelihood. His chiefe abode (as I haue learned) for some yeeres past, hath bene in and about the Citie of *London*.

Another of them is *Henry Arthington*, a gentleman likewise, whose place of birth and dwelling is said to be in *Torkeeshire*: howbeit for the greatest part of certaine yeeres past, hee hath remained and sojourned in or about *London*. It is constantly (how credibly I know not) reported by some, who pretend to know it, that this *Arthington* (at the times of his long aboades at *London*) did most conuerse with another gentleman of *Torkeeshire*, by whose meanes, he presently stands more deeply engaged, then his meane estate might well beare, and whose companie is feared to haue wrought in him small duetifull opinion of the godly reformation planted and established by the meanes of her *Maiestie*. It is discovered by the mutuall letters of *Arthington* and the aforesaid other *Torkeeshire* gentleman, that certaine seditious and slanderous bookes agaynst the *Counsell*, *Iudges*, and this whole *Estate*, were receiued & dispersed by them, being printed in *Scotland*.

Now by such remaining about the Citie of *Coppinger* and *Arthington*, they fell to be acquainted together for some yeeres past.

These two made semblance, and so were holden to bee professors of the Gospel, neither of the coldest or lewke-warne sort, (as such doe vntruly terme others, who bee in deed godly wise, with a sober moderation) but rather of those that more iustly may bee said, to be scalding hote in desire of *innouation*, which they falsely call *reformation*. They therefore standing thus affected, most willingly sortd themselves in familiaritie with such, as by their demeanor may seeme to repose a great part of their Christian profession and zeale in the onely reproching, and odious traducing of gouernors

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These two hauing itching eares, most vsually heaped to themselves, and made choise to heare and follow such preachers, as were thought fittest to feede their humour : which preachers, with their sad lookes, frequent sighes abroad, long and vehement conceiued prayers, bitter and playne inuectiues in priuate, and priuie deprauing in publike, of the lawes and policie Ecclesiasticall, ioyued with their vsuall speeches, besides sundry infamous libels and other pamphlets spred alreadie for aduaucing that gouernement (which they strangely terme *The Discipline*) may seeme so to haue inflamed these two persons, as that they thought this *Discipline* a worthie subiect whereupon they should spend most of their actions and cogitations.

Their mindes being thus prepared, it happened that some preachers of this *Discipline* were begun to bee proceeded with in the most honourable court of *Starre chamber*, about the same time that this *Coppinger* (by meanes of one *Giles Wigginton*) came acquainted with *William Hacket*, the third actor and chiefe setter forth of this tragedie.

Concerning the sayd *Wigginton* (because this also tendeth to the better vnderstanding of the whole action) he was borne or bred vp in *Oundel* in *Northhamptonshire* (where *Hacket* dwelt) and he often resorted into that countrey by that occasion. He was not long since a minister, and Vicar of *Sedberghe* and *Dent* in the North partes, but for his intollerable insolencies and contempts agaynst lawes, and the peace of the Church, was both deprived of that his benefice, and deposed from his ministerie by authoritie of her *Maiesties* commission for causes Ecclesiasticall, a man (by report of such as know him best, and fauour him not a litle) whose zeale neuer came behind knowledge, nor bold-hardie forwardnes, at any time went after discretion in him.

This *Hacket* had dwelt also by a long space in *Oundel*, where first he serued one master *Hussey* an Esquier, by the space of tenne yeeres : and after, for some time hee serued Sir *Thomas Tresilian* Knight : he was a notable bragging and quarelsome fellow, yet thought in trueth to be but a very recreant dastard.

He long together vsed one lewd & vngodly practise, which was to resort vnto sermons (of purpose) to gibe, mocke, and carpe at them : and hauing a good memorie (which was the onely commendation

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mendable part in him) he vsed in scoffing maner to preach ouer againe in alehouses, the sermons that hee had heard, most insisting and sporting himselfe and others at such passages thereof, which pleased him least, or whereat he imagined any likely matter of deriding might be gathered.

Whiles thus hee serued Master *Hussey*, hee obtained (by his masters countenance) the mariage of one *Moretons* widowe, of reasonable substance, hauing also a good Farme in that towne. But hee, following loose and licencious companie, and an idle course of life, without labour or industrie either to get or saue, lewdly and riotouslie mispent and wasted in short space all her goods.

It fell so out, that at length hee pretended from a *Papist* or an *Atheist*, to be conuerted to religion and knowledge of the trueth: at what time he grew to be of familiar and inward acquaintance with the said *Giles Wigginton*, and was an especiall follower and disciple of his, both at publike sermons and priuate conuenticles. Of late times hee was also consorted in partnership of malt-making with *Wigginton*: their great acquaintance and familiaritie may appeare by a letter sent from *Hacket* vnto him, the third of March last, and by his lending vnto *Hacket* of ten pounds: the superscription is, *To the worshipfull Minister of Gods word, M. Giles Wigginton at Newgate*. In the letter thus hee writeth: *M. Wigginton I desire to communicate my spirit at large with you, but I know not your keeper*. And in the ende thereof, thus: *Good M. Wigginton make my sound heart knowne to master Cartwright, master Snape, master Vdall, master Lord, &c.*

By his and such others (like affected mens) instructions and example of life and behauour, he so profited, that in short space hee proued one that professed with the forwardest, and practised with the frowardest. For falling as fooles doe, from one extremitie to an other, *Qui dum vitant vitia, in contraria currunt*, he grew to a most insolent, proude, and contemptuous disdaine of all preachers and others whomesoeuer, that flew not his pitch, or lay not to the leuell of his pretended zeale. But most gladly and with greatest felicitie that might be, hee vsed to spend his mouth largely in inuectiues, railings and contumelies against Bishops and other gouernors of the Church, and also against the lawes, orders, and whole gouernment Ecclesiasticall, not sticking (as was probably suspected)

cted) to procure also sundry lewd infamous libels against the and other preachers, &c. to be framed and set vp thereabouts.

His detestation of Ecclesiasticall orders commaunded, was so great, that he could not endure to frequent the sermons which *Ray* the minister of that towne did preach, because he seemed to him a little more conformable in some few matters (by authoritie established) then *Hacket* liked of. Wherefore on *Sabboth* dayes *Hacket* vsually did resort to a place a mile off called *Stoke* (where the minister fitted his humor better) in companie of some of like strayne to himselfe, and of certaine light idle gossips, whereof some of the sincerest were sayd to loue and like him so little, as that she could oft times be content to take the meate off his trencher, which hee had cut for himselfe, and to eate it vp from him. But whensoever this deuout flocke came so neere to *Stoke* Church, as they might perceiue the minister to be yet at diuine seruice and prayer: then they vsed to stay abroad and rest themselues in the *Greene* churchyard there (without going into the Church) vntill they heard the *Psalme* begun before sermon, for feare least they should be polluted by those prayers.

One most memorable pranke (aboue others) was played in *Oundell* by *Hacket*, which is renoumed farre and neere for the vmanly brutishnesse of it. It hapned that *M. Hussy* his master fell at debate and was offended with one *Freckingham* an artificer of the towne. This *Freckingham* had a sonne which was a schoolemaster, who (as in nature hee was bound) did take part with his father. Now *Hacket* meeting this schoolemaster in an Alehouse or Inne, did louingly (as seemed) signifie vnto him how sorie hee was, that there should bee any breach betwixt his master and him the sayde schoolemaster, entertaining him (that suspected no trecherie) with such good speeches, till spying an aduantage, hee so grasped both *Freckingham* his armes, as that he might easily hold him and throw him to the ground. Thus hauing gotten him down on the ground vnder him, *Hacket* most sauagely and currishly bit off the poore schoolemasters nose with his teeth, which when hee had so barbarously performed, both the sayd *Freckingham* and one *Clement* (a cunning Surgion) instantly desired the nose of him agayne, that whiles the wound was fresh and greene, it might bee stitched on and grow againe (as they conceiued it would) to auoyd so fowle and great deformitie: but the *Canibal* varlet not onely vtterly refused

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fed so to part with it, but held it vp triumphantly, and shewed it with great vaunterie and glorie, to all that would behold it: and after (as some haue reported) did in a most spitefull & diuelish outrage eate it vp.

In processe of time it happened that his master fell out with him, and put him from his seruice (I thinke for no good conditions) yet it is sayd that hee was retayned after ward in seruice (by what meanes I knowe not) with a very worshipfull gentleman Sir *Charles Morrison* knight, nephew to his first master: and one of those, against whom hee lately caused his two small prophets so vily to exclaime, and so vnwoorthily to charge, euen openly in *Cheape side*.

Besides his former vertues and good qualities, this *Hacket* was also a verie great swearer and blasphemour of the name of God, in his yonger yeares: which course, when afterward, to retayne the reputation of a professor of the Gospell (whereof hee made great pretence) hee was forced to leaue, hee turned his single oathes (in trueth) into worse and more horrible, ioyned with most fearefull imprecations against himselfe, when sbeuer hee would make any asseuerations, wherein he desired to be credited, as namely these: *so God iudge mee, I renounce God, and God confound and damne mee, or doe so, or so vnto me, if this bee not true*: which was so vsuall, and by long custome so inueterate in him, euen till the time of his apprehension, that in the midst of his counterfeit holinesse (whereby hee seduced *Coppinger* and *Arthington*) hee often burst foorth into this kind of execration agaynst himselfe, as an especiall motiue (amongst others) to haue his wordes to be better beleueed by the. *Arthington* noted this course of *Hackets* as a notable vertue in him, and a matter of care zeale. His maner (saith he) of praying is as it were speaking to God face to face, denouncing his iudgements agaynst himselfe, if hee dissemble, lie, or seeke himselfe in any thing, but the honour of God onely. He prayed so confidently for maistresse H. that he charged God to haue giuen her vnto him, to restore her to her former health and libertie enerie way, saying, *Lorde, according to thy promise thou hast power, and I haue sayth, therefore it shall come to passe*. This maistresse H. is a Gentlewoman of London, who pretendeth or feareth to bee possessed with a diuell now foureteene yeeres together.

Besides these he was giuen to quaffing and drunkenness: being

ing not onely a Maltster, but a Malt-worme, and was addicted also to lasciuious life with women, which commonly accompanieth the other vicious excesse: for credite whereof, his owne storie or legend (which himselfe endited as a notable monument of his excellent vertues and speciall holinesse) may giue too sufficient testimonie: for therein hee telleth of many temptations in this kind with women, which (as himselfe confesseth) hee reiected not altogether, but went further then either godlinesse or yet ciuill honestie would permit. But he pretendeth that these baites were offered and laied by his enemies (who sought matter against him) as snares and trappes whereby to take his holinesse tardie, that belike was so hard to be entangled. Insonmuch as *Arthington* in the forefront of that historie (which hee did whiles hee was yet seduced by *Hacket*) doeth stampe this brand and censure vpon it, that they were prophane speeches and matters of women, which hee would not haue set downe, but that hee could not otherwise reueale the villanous practise which *Hackets* enemies intended for the ouerthrow of the Gospell of *Christ*, as he most childishly and ridiculously excused then the matter. For further prooffe and manifestation of his lasciuious disposition, it is also enformed from the place of his abode, that on a time (vnder colour of giuing godly counsell) hee attempted to haue wickedly rauished a poore mans daughter, whereupon hee was forced to step aside out of the way, for a season.

Neither did the wickednesse of this wretch here rest it selfe: for hee was vehemently holden in suspicion, for committing also of sundry robberies.

But that which maketh vp the heape of all wickednesse, is this: that the sinke of these sinnes in him, hee alwayes smoothlie couered and parieted ouer (especially for sundrie late yeeres) with a very rare outward earnestnesse in profession of true religion, and with a most entire (yea burning) desire of reforming (forsooth) the Church and common wealth, by establishing the *Presbyteriall Discipline*, which hee did imagine would prooue like the boxe of *Pandora*, for it promiseth cure for all maladies and disorders.

But this his zeale and desire of reformation, begun then most of all to enkindle it selfe in him, and to breake forth, after that (by riotous mispending and licentious life) hee had wasted the
wealth

Pretended Reformation.

2

wealth that he had with the widow, whom hee married, whose hap was very hard to match with him, albeit hee made more of her then shee desired, for he made the vttermost penie. For then hee beguine with counterfeit holinesse to set out himselfe (amongst such of the simpler sort as had zeale without knowledge) to bee a man indued with an extraordinarie and singular spirite, such as (in olde time) the prophets and holy men of God were: making shew withall, as if he had some peculiar gifts and qualities, to bee able euen to tell secrets and worke myracles, which many beleued: whereof some did attribute them to forcerie and enchauntments, but the simpler sort vnto his rare spirite and holinesse.

For hee trusted by this perswasion to get such credite with the vnstable multitude, as that by their hands he might one day bee able (whosoever should withstand it) to bring his purposes about, for erecting of such pretended *Discipline*, to his owne great estimation and aduancement. In this vayne and seducing humour, hee is reported (I know not how truly) to haue trauelled in the North partes vnto *Yorke*: for among the simpler people (where he was not knowen) hee hoped by the visard of holinesse and religion, not a litle to preuaile, in setting forwards his designments. For which purpose he tooke vpon him there the office and spirite of *S. Iohn Baptist*, affirming, that hee was sent thither by God, to prepare the way of the Lord before his second comming to iudgement. But the counterfeit holines & lewd seducing purpose of the varlet being discouered vnto some in authoritie, he was welcommed not with losse of his head (as that holy mā vniustly was, whom he wickedly counterfeited) but was wel whipped & after banished y^e city.

This medicine wrought not so effectually with him, as that it could terrifie him wholly from the like attempts. For it is reported, that after this he assaied againe to put on the like person or maske at *Lincolne*, where he also found the same cheere & entertainment for his paines, as he receiued afore at *Yorke*.

But this erroneous opinion (whereby through selfe-loue and illusion of the deuill, he thought that hee was reserved of God for some great and excellent worke, being blowen forward by the shew of zeale, and of an earnestnesse for such a reformation) could not thus easily be quenched and rooted out of him: the rather, for that by vse and imitation of such as he most followed & conuerſed with (though otherwise he were wholly valetted) he had growen to

such a dextetie in conceiuing of extemporall prayers, with bum-
basted and thundering wordes, as that he was thereby meruailed
at, and greatly magnified by some brethren and sisters, as a man
greatly vouchsafed with God, and adourned with rare and singu-
lar endowments from heauen, so that through adimiration of such
supposed excellencies in him, he still continued to fantasie vnto him-
selfe, that hee had rare gifts and an *extraordinarie* calling. For hee
gaue out to diuers that hee was a *Prophet* of Gods vengeance,
where his mercy is refused: saying that *If Reformation be not esta-
blished in England this present yeere, three great plagues shall fall vpon
it, the sword, pestilence and famine.* Hee pretended also that God
had revealed vnto him most wonderfull things, *Which he would* (he
sayd) *vnto none but such as himselfe knew to be very resolute in Gods
cause.* But he told vnto *Arthington* and *Coppinger*, that there should
be no more *Popes* hereafter.

Vpon confidence of which spirit and gifts in himselfe, in pla-
ces of his resort, with an intemperate and fanaticall boldnesse, (e-
uen as if he had sufficient warrant for it) he dared oftentimes to vt-
ter most vile, lewd, and seditious speeches both of the *Queenes
Majestie* and of certaine the greatest subiects whom hee thought
to be hinderers of his practises. Which his outrages being once or
twise brought vnto the eares of certaine in authoritie in *Northamp-
tonshire*, and elsewhere (not sufficiently acquainted with the strange
humours of such *Anabaptisticall* wilards and fanaticall sectaries)
and perhappes vnwilling to let his wordes bee drawn so farre a-
gaynst him, as they iustly might: they were therefore content
to attribute them to some spice of phrenesie in him, and in that
qualitie to bee corrected, rather then to construe them to haue
proceeded from any setled and aduised malice, as the euent hath
since made most manifest they did. For in the whole course be-
sides of other the speeches and actions of his life, both before and
after, none alienation of minde or madnesse, could bee noted in
him.

At one of the times that hee was brought in question for his
seditious, and indeed treasonable speeches, it happened that hee
was conuented before that honourable counsellor *Sir Walter
Mildmay*, who commaunded him (for more safegard) to be wat-
ched the night before he was to be conueied to *Northampton
gaole*, at what time the counterfeit dissembling wretch, willed
his

his wife to let him lie alone in the chamber that was to be watched, for that he had to conferre with one, that would come vnto him that night: insinuating vnto her, as if he were to haue at that time, some special conferences with God, or some Angell. Wherevpon it was straightway blowen abroad thereabouts, amongst the credulous multitude of those, that either fauoured him for supposed zeale, or feared him for forceries, that (albeit there were no candles vsed) yet there was a great light (that night) seene shining in his chamber: so that by this tale, the erroneous opinions afore conceaued of him, were greatly encreased.

After he had lien in *Northampton* gaole a good space, and was to come vnto his triall (in the absence of *Sir Walter* from thence) the matter is thought to haue bene so handled by some (who in fauour of his forwardnes, would needes interpret his felonies to be but follies) as that (none euidence being giuen against him) he was dismissed for that pull: vpon band entred, for his apparance, when he should be called for againe.

Nowe *Hacket* (a man thus qualified as ye heare) was of all other men thought by *Wigginton* most fitte and woorthie, to be recommended, and straightly linked vnto *Coppingers* familiar acquaintance: as most aptly consorting with his humorous conceite, long ere this apprehended by him, whereof it seemeth *Wigginton* was not ignorant, nor misliked.

Their acquaintance was wrought in this manner, as *Hacket* testifieth in that discourse (which they since call *Hackets* historie enlarged) endited by himselfe, written by *Coppinger*, and afterwarde copied out faire by *Arthington*, as it should haue gone to the presse, being annexed to *Arthingtons* prophesie. For there it is said: that the Lord brought *Hacket* to London (about the beginning of Easter terme last) to see what would be done against *Iob Throgmorton*, and partly to reckon with *M. Wigginton* about the making of malte betweene them together: At what time *Wigginton* said, that there was a Gentleman in the Citie, a very good man: but *Hacket* (as the Lorde knoweth) did not thinke that there had bene one godly man in the land: and supposed the twelfth Psalm to belong to this time. When *Wigginton* was describing the man, and the matter that he was entring into, viz. that the man whome he spoke of, had a message to say to his Soueraigne, concerning some practise intended against her, from dealing wherein, the Preachers in London had wonderfully discouraged him:

then Hacket answered thus: did you so also? No saith Wigginton: then said Hacket, encourage him in any wise: for what know you, what matter it is, he hath to say? Hereupon Wigginton sent for the said Edmund Coppinger to come to the Counter to speake with him: who (by Gods providence) came forthwith, & Wigginton willed the to take acquaintance one of the other, assuring Coppinger that he knew Hacket to be a man truly fearing God, and such a person, as by whose conference, God might minister some comfort to Coppinger: whereupon they two, (viz. Coppinger & Hacket) went from thence presently unto Hackets chamber at the signe of the Castle without Smithfield barres: so soone as they were entred the chamber, Coppinger desired that before any speeche should passe betweene them, they might first pray to God together, which they did: Hacket speaking to the Lord first. After which praier, Coppinger deliuered vnto Hacket, how he had bene very strangely & extraordinarily moued by God to go to her Maiestie, & to tel her plainly, that the Lords pleasure was, that she must (with all speede) reforme her selfe, her family, the Cōmon-wealth, & the Church: & that the Lord had further told him, by what meanes al the same should be done: but that secret he would not then deliuer vnto Hacket. Then Copp. also praied vnto God, desiring him, if he would be with him, & blesse that busines (which he had cōmitted to his charge) that then he would both furnish him with gifts fit for so weightie an action, & knit the heart of Hacket & his, so together, as Dauids & Ionathans, Moses & Aarons: for answer hereof, Hacket tooke further time til the morning, at which time in the morning (a praier being first made) Hacket laid al the Lords busines (which was to be done by himself) vpon Coppingers backe: telling him the Lord had appointed him to it, & would stand with him in it. Thus farre in this point goeth that discourse.

But long before this time of their two first acquaintances, Coppinger (vpon his returne foorth of Kent, in Michaelmas terme last) had signified vnto Arthington, and to one T. Lancaster, a Schoole-master in Shoe-lane, (both being of his familiar acquaintance, and whome he had requested to fast and pray with him, for successe in obtaining a widow) that God had shewed him the said Copp great fauour, by revealing such a secret mystery vnto him as was wonderful, being in substance thus much, viz. that he knew a way, how to bring the Queene to repentance, & to cause al her Councel & Nobles to doe the like out of hand, or els detest them to be traitors that refused: Al they by such repentance, meaning & vnderstanding (as it seemeth) the erecting of
their

their fanciful *Discipline*. For this phrase being vsual wth them in conferences of this matter, he thereby sufficiently declared his mind to the, & they wel vnderstood what was meant, without further a do.

Nowe it had bene inconuenient that *Coppinger* should all this while conceale this mysterie (which he imparted vnto them, & after to *Hacket*) from *Wigginton*, who brought them acquainted together, vnto whom he so oft resorted, and so highly aboue all other Preachers esteemed, for his resolute dealings in Gods matters, as he termes them: whome he also after aduouched vnto *Arthington*, as an irrefragable witnesse to be perswaded by, that would iustifie the trueth of *Hackets* torments, & whom he also knew more often busied, for attaining of that *discipline* (which himselfe also laboured for) then perhaps for heauen it selfe. And you see, that he had accordingly done it, *Wigginton* not discouraging him therein.

This proposition so made by *Coppinger*, *Arthington* saith, that he & *Lancaster* misliked, as a matter impossible by *Copp*. to be done, but by the Lord Iesus onely, & such, whereof the issue could not fall out well any way, & so put him off for the first time: not vnderstanding, in what manner, & by what special meanes, *Coppinger* conceaued, that such repentance should be wrought in the Queenes Maiestie, & in others.

The maner and other circumstances of the first reuealing of this pretended mysterie, *Coppinger* himselfe at large declareth in a letter written the 4. of *Februarie* last, vnto *T.C.* in prison: the occasion of writing it, he there saith, was the said *T.C.* offer to take knowledge (by writing) from him, of such matter, as might induce him, to suppose himselfe to haue receaued some hope of speciall fauour from God, to some special use: but yet, without warrant from the worde, direction of the holie spirite, & approbation of the Church, he was (he said) most unwilling to enter into so great an action. The letter is long, but to this effect: that upon some extraordinarie humiliation of him, he, with some other, and a guide of their exercise, joyned in a fast: their guide (in the evening) spake of the use of fastes, &c. and then willed the others to adde to that, which he had deliuered, either for the generall, or particular causes, which moued them to humble themselves: that a great part of the said night *Coppinger* founde himselfe very extraordinarily exercised, &c. by such a motine, as he could not well describe: partly comforted with a wonderfull zeale, which he founde himselfe to haue, to set forth Gods glorie any wayes, which lawefully bee might enter into: partly cast downe by such a burning fire of concupiscence, as in his greatest strength

strength of bodie, he had not founde the like: that the next day, he riding into the Countrey, (as he ridde) fantasied to himselfe, that there was leaue giuen him to speake to God, in a more familiar manner, then at any time before: and also perswaded himselfe, that Gods spirite did giue him many strange directions, wherein the Lorde would vse him to doe seruice to his most glorious Maiestie, and to his Church. Vpon which, he had thought to haue returned presently backe, and to haue left his intended iourney: but going on, and after being returned backe, he imparted to his former fast-fellowes the worke of God in him, and desired they might againe ioyne in the like, which he (with some other) went forward with, to their comfort, but without their chiefe guide, for he refused to ioyne. Hereupon (he saith) that he was againe stirred up to such busines of such importance, as in the eyes of flesh and blood, were likely to bring much danger to himselfe, and unlikely to bring any good successe to the Church of God: hereof he writte to some Preachers out of the Realme, and to some in the Realme: at length he writte hereof to one in the Citie that was silenced: who resolued him, that God did yet worke extraordinarily in some persons to some speciall uses. Hereupon he obtained this Preachers consent to ioyne with him and about foure others on the Lordes day, in a fast: which day was chosen, that they might not hinder their worldly affaires in the weeke, and that they used meanes to haue notice giuen to some of the Preachers in prison, of the day of their humiliation, desiring them to commend to God in their prayers the holie purposes, which any fearing God, should (in time) attempt to take in hand, by seeking to bring glorie to God, and good to the Church: that in their prayers at the saide fast, he and others did beseech God, that if he had appointed to vse any of them to doe any speciall seruice to him and his, that to that ende he would extraordinarily call them, that he would seale up his, or their such calling, by some speciall maner, by his holy spirite, and giue such extraordinarie graces and giftes, as are fit for so weightie an action. The night following (he saith) he thought (in his sleepe) that he was caried into heauen: and there being wonderfully astonished with the Maiestie of God, and brightnes of his glory, he made a loude, and most strange noise, whereby he awaked his brother that lay with him, and some in the next chamber. Since which time (saith he) I finde euery day more and more comfort: and suppose, that there is somewhat in me, which my selfe am not so fit to iudge of: and therefore I desire the Church (I meane your selfe, and such as you shall name vnto me, because I cannot come to you without danger to your selfe and me) to

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looke narrowly into me: & if I be thought to be any way mislead, I crave sharpe censuring: if I be guided by Gods spirite to any good end, as hereafter shall be adiudged, I shal be ready to acquaint you and them, with generalities and particularities, so farre forth as you & they be desirous to looke into. At this time, the ende of my writing is onely to acquaint you with the occasions of mine entring into this great action, and to haue your further answer to some questions, wherein I desire to be resolved: with your direction also, what hereafter I am to signifie to your selfe, concerning the matter it selfe. Of the questions wherein he thus desired resolution, I doe finde two copies of Coppingers owne hand: the one more large and confused, the other briefer, and in better order, but both to one purpose, which to haue set downe, may giue good light (in mine opinion) to this narration.

The questions to be resolved, viz.

Whether there be (in these daies) any extraordinarie workers & helpers to his church, either apostles, euangelists, or prophets, where need requires, mo or lesse? or Nazarites, healers, admonishers, in any special sort? 1.

If there be, is not their calling immediat from God, & his spirit, a seale vnto their spirits, through which they haue such excellent gifts and graces of wisdom, knowledge, courage, magnanimitie, zeale, patience, humilitie, &c. as doe manifest such their calling to the Church? 2.

If such graces and giftes shall appeare, whether may the Church enter into consideration of the successe, which God may please to giue, yea or no? If they may, in what maner are they to proceede with such a person, extraordinarily called? 3. Note.

If it shalbe confessed, that there may be vntil the end of the world immediate callings from God: whether may the same be found in a Countrey, where the Gospell is truely preached, and the Sacraments (in some sorte) truely administred, though not vniuersally, but here and there, not perfectly, but in part: and where the true discipline is not establisshed, but oppugned by the publike Magistrates, &c. 4.

If it shall be answered that none extraordinarie callings are to be looked for, but where there is a waste of the Church, whether can it be truly said, that there is a waste of the Church, where the Prince, and chiefe Magistrates, are ignorant of the necessitie of the discipline, opposing themselves against it, persecuting such as seeke it: by meanes whereof, all wicked persons whatsoeuer, be admitted to publike exercises of the word, and to the Lordes Table: whether (I say) may it be hoped for, that God (for his glories sake, & the good of the church) may extraordinarily cal some, 5.

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by gining him a spirite aboue others, to deale with the Magistrate in the name of God: to provide that the people may euery where be taught, and true discipline executed, where the people already haue knowledge?

6.

Whether where there be wanting Pastors, Doctors, Elders, Deacons, and widowes, &c. in the Church established, and onely a Minister thrust vpon the people to be their Pastor, without their choise or liking: whether it can be truely said, a man so placed (though furnished with all inward giftes and graces of Gods spirite fit for that calling) hath the lawfull and persfite calling of a Minister, or no?

To these I finde *Wiggintons* resolution made vnder his owne hand, to this effect briefly, viz. That God hath, doeth, and will, from time to time raise vp *extraordinarie* workers, and helpers, to his Church, as *Apostles, Euangelists, and Prophets*, where neede requirereth, and as *Nazarites, Healers, Admonishers* in speciall sort, & such like: that these cannot be knowen to themselues, but by Gods spirite, nor to others, but by godly effects: That he who is so called, neede not to aske many questions of mortall men for his calling, yet must be approoued godly before he enterprise his worke, especially, if he haue bene a knowen wicked person before.

That where the chiefe rulers of any house or Countrey, or the most part of any house or Countrey be ignorant, & vntaught, there it may be truely saide, that house or Countrey is out of frame, desolate, or waste: much more then, when one part of 30. or 40. is not wel framed, rightly taught, or guided, &c. in that house or Countrey.

And in another paper of his owne hand, he auoucheth such *extraordinarie* callings, by example of one that cried vp and downe the streetes in *Ierusalem*, before it was besieged, and by another, which (he saith) the last *Parliament* came foorth of *Torkeshire* to *London*, saying he was charged from God by an *Angell* in a vision, to signifie great vengeance from God vpon the whole Realme, for certaine great enormities by himselfe (in another mans person) vntruely and seditiously surmised. So that hereby it appeareth, that *Wigginton* is the silenced Preacher, meant by *Coppinger* in the former letter, who resolved him of *extraordinarie* callings in those daies: who consented to fast & pray with him & others, for a seale &c. of such calling; and who (as he afterward affirmed to *Hacket*) would not discourage *Coppinger* in his purposes.

This conceite hereupon waxing stronger & stronger in *Coppinger*, he often came to *Lancasters* house (where also *Arthington* then lay)

lay) to confer with them: specially to know the certaintie, whether there were any *extraordinarie* calling in this last age, & how y^e same might be tried? They both told him (as is now said) that they were meere *ordinarie* men, not able to resolute him, much lesse to take trial of his gifts, & therefore willed him to keepe his secrets to himself, or else to go to others, that could better iudge of them. Whereupon Copp. sought for direction to diuers Preachers, & others in *London*, & else where, of what settled disposition may easily be coniectured: for resolution also herein (by the help of his diligent fellow-labourer in this busines, *John ap Henry alias a Penry*) he solicited y^e reformed Preachers (so these fellowes terme thē) of some forrein parts.

It may also be gathered by some letters written by him to a Gentleman neere about a great *Counsellour*, that he bare the faide Gentleman in hand, as if he had intelligence, touching some matter of great seruice to her *Maiestie*, and the Common-wealth, to be imparted to the said *Counsellor*. For in the copie of a letter of his, of the 28. of *Ianuarie* last, he thus writeth. *Your signification of some seruice, which you heard I was desirous to doe, in discharge of my duetie to her Maiestie, may giue his L. cause to suspect, that I honour him not so much as I doe. Your reuealing therof to his L. I do assure you, doth much trouble me, because I am not furnished with such matter as I wish. My meaning was therefore to haue forborne his L. trouble, untill I had learned out that, which my heart desireth to doe, &c.* And in another letter of his, written to the same Gent. the 1. of *Febru.* after, in this sort: *If you think he looketh to haue me come to his L. (about any thing which you haue put into his head) let me vnderstand from you whē I may attend his L. pleasure, which being knowne, I will (according to my duetie) doe it, though I wish my selfe to be freed, until I may knowe that, which may giue his L. cause to thinke of me, as I doe desire to deserue, &c.*

Now that this matter was the same wherof he desired such resolution, may be gathered by a note of his owne hande, set vpon the backe of these two copies, thus: *viz. By these letters it may appeare, what care I had to carry my selfe in this action.* But in his letters (about this matter) written vnto Preachers, & others of his owne humor, he goeth more plainely to worke, and declareth another purpose, and that it is a *speciall seruice by him to be done, to God and his Church*, and so no ciuill matter, as he elsewhere pretendeth.

For I finde by a letter of another Gentleman of the Laitie, dated the 25. of *Ianuarie* last, and written vnto *Coppinger* in answer: that

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Coppinger had sent for him vp, to receaue aduise of him in some matters of importance, tending to the true seruice of God, wherein he was labouring: in the ende whereof are these wordes, viz. you are in a plentifull soile, where you may vse the aduise of many godly wise: vse the benefite thereof: and then (as Ioshua saide) be bolde, and of a good courage: feare not to be discouraged, for God, euen the mightie God, will protect, and defend you.

In his solliciting the Preachers to take trial of his gifts & extraordinarie calling, it appeareth he vsed some more plainnesse, without much disguising of the qualitie of the action, which he intended, and likewise how faintly he was discouraged from it by them. For in a letter of his vnto T.L. written the 29. of Ianuary last, he reporteth, that M. E. (a Preacher) most Christianly, wisely, and louingly perswaded him to be careful & circumspect ouer himselfe: to take heede lest he were deceaued by the subtiltie of Satan, and so mislead: wherby he might endanger himselfe both for his libertie, estate & credite, and also be an hinderance to the great cause, which he would seeme to be most desirous to further, but withall, the said M.E. concluded, that he would be loath to quench the spirite of God in him, or to hinder his zeale.

Note.

About this time & matter, Coppinger writ also another letter to T. C. which thing (besides the letter it selfe) appeareth also by a letter of his, written the 24. of February last, to one M.H. The whole tenor of the letter vnto T.C. is (in mine opinion) meete to be here inserted, in many respects, viz. Right Reuerend Sir, I haue with much grieve bene put backe from doing some special seruice to God and to his Church, which I hope time wil manifest, that I am appointed for: which if it had bene done by enemies, it should not much haue troubled me: but being done by persons as much regarded by me, as flesh & blood can regard men, it goeth neere vnto me. From you I receaued this message, that I should attempt nothing but by aduise of those, whom you would procure to counsel me: this was done from you in the name of the Lord of heauen & earth, & therefore I obey it with great care and conscience, expecting at your hands, that Munday being the day appointed for conference, that it may hold: that I may be iustified in my course, or condemned. The danger that some stand in for their lines, is not unknownen: and if I had not bene letted, I durst haue ventured my life, to haue procured their release ere now. God helpe vs: I see wisdom, zeale, courage, & loue are seene but in few, & those who would gladly vse those graces & giftes which God hath giuen them, cannot: but God seeth what is best to be done, and he will by
contrary

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contrary effects bring to passe, whatsoeuer pleaseth him. If you wil answer my last questions, there may much vse be made of them. I desire them as much in regard of others as my selfe, who am resolved of diuers things, whereof I craue to bee resolved, which I doe to good purpose. And as you commanded me (in the name of God) to be wise and circumspect and to deale by counsell, so, (as I may) I command you in the name of God, that you aduise the preachers to deale speedily and circumspectly, least some bloud of the saints be shed, which must needs bring down vengeance from heauen vpon the land. Returue this letter I beseech you to me, that I may shew it (amongst other things) when the meeting shall be, and commend me & my purposes to God in your holy praiers, that they may so far be blessed, as himselfe is the director of them: God keepe vs euer his, this 14. of Febr. There is also this postscript, I am so full of worldly businesse, as I haue no time to attend this weightie action, but do onely waite vpon God for the direction of his spirit, sauing my heart and soule are still mindfull hereof, and to morow (by Gods grace) I will humble my selfe before his maiestie in fasting and prayer, & hope, that God will stirre vp some other to ioyne with me in spirit, though few or none in person doe, onely one I am assured of, the prisoners know it: I leaue it to them to ioyne or not, as God mooues them, but if euer men will fast and pray, I thinke it is now more then time to doe it. The superscription was this: To my very louing and reuerend friend master C.

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He delt also (about this matter) with another gentleman of the laitie, in one of whose letters written in answer vnto Coppingers, the 18. of the fifth moneth (meaning thereby Maie) I find these words of some marke. I confesse (saith he) I heard some buzze abroad of a sole and singular course, that either you or some other had plotted in his head. And a little after thus: I would wish you and all that beare good will to the holy cause in this perillous age of ours, to take both your eyes in your hands (as they say) and to bee sure of your ground and warrant before you strine to put in execution.

Strine to put in execution.

Besides these and some others, he instanted both by worde and letters (in Easter terme last) about this businesse, a certaine gentleman. In his first letter to the sayd gentleman, dated 19. of May last, Coppinger promiset to him in the name of the L. a recompense in the life to come, for that in the Starre chamber he feared God more then man, in such a glorious action, so pleasing to God, so behoouefull to his Church, which shall also remaine of record here to all posteritie. And a little after thus: If after your owne holy primate prayer you find any desire

of speech, with me, let me intreat you, either to send this letter to M. Cartwright, or rather (if you can) carie it vnto him, &c. The second letter which he writ to y^e said Lawyer the 21. of May (they hauing in the meane time conferred together) was thus word by word. Let thy spirit (O gracious father) direct vs now and for euer, in all our wayes, especially in those, wherby greatest honor may redound to thy glorious maiestie, most benefit to thy church, and most danger to thine enemies.

Good Sir and my louing brother in the Lord, though such as are admitted to consult with God, & haue by prayer & meditation much familiaritie and acquaintance with his holy maiestie, need not doubt of good successe, in all things which he setteth them a worke in, (though Satan & his vassals crosse their course, & hinder their labour by all the means they can) yet is it also necessary that while we remain in the fellowship & communion of the saints, that we communicate one with another, that as louing children we may all ioyne together, to helpe each other, to be doers of our beauenly fathers will here on earth, as the angels do it in the heauens. The conscience which I had hereof, enforced me to write vnto you lately, and the like mooued you to speake with mee vpon that letter. And truly I did obserue many things (in that litle time we spent together) were sayd & done, which might mooue either of vs to prayse our good God, & to cheere vs vp, to further so holy an action as now is in hand, which must needs speed well in the end, because it is the Lords owne worke. And if we aduenture our selues to do him seruice here, he will reward elsewhere. You may be bold, for you haue the warrant of the worde, the allowance of the state, and you walke in your owne calling: But I am to be fearfull and circumspect, because the dangers I enter into, be infinite, my course misliked (though vnknownen) because it is extraordinarie, which callings be ceased in all mens opinion of iudgement, and haue not (of long time) bene heard of, or to bee hoped for, but where the word is not preached at all, or the Church in a great waste, which no body daxe affirme our Church of England to be. Wherefore it seemeth that euery step that I shal make herein, shall be vpon thornes, & therefore I am to feare pricking: yet for all this I am not without hope, neither is the same grounded but by good warrant. The end why I write vnto you, is this, to intreat you to giue thanks to those holy mē all on my behalf, who are now in questio. I haue reaped much benefit from them, by their cariage towards me, though they know it not: for I durst not (in regard of danger which might growe to them) visite any of them, since I found my selfe caried with a zeale to doe somewhat in the same cause, for which they suffer. If by some effects hereafter I may shew

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shew it, that is it which I desire to doe, and in the meane time doe what I can to perswade the saints, that in this action I seeke Gods glory and not mine owne. I haue bene heretofore put backe and dissuaded from attempting any thing (least I marred all) by the wisest, the learnedst, the zealousst and holiest preachers of this Citie, great causes and weightie reasons moouing thereunto. But yet this will not make me leaue it, but still I am enforced (by little and little) to labour to make my selfe fit to take vpon me the managing of it. Wherefore if it please you to shew the other letter and this, and beseech them from me to lay them before the Lord, when they shall meete and ioine together in prayer: and if the Lords spirite shall assure their spirites, that he hath bene, is, and will be with me in this action (how hard soeuer it seemeth to be) let me by their meanes be vouchsafed this fauour, that I may be allowed conferēce with the preachers of the Citie: which sute I make not for that I would seeke to haue approbation from them, or any other liuing creature, but from God himselfe: or that I purpose to doe that which heretofore I haue bene aduised vnto, namely, acquaint the with the courses (which I purpose by Gods assistance to take in hand) whereby great danger might grow to them, and little good to me: but that my cariage towards them, may witnes vnto them the humilitie of my mind, and lowlinesse of my spirit, & care and conscience not to enter into the matter, without offer to haue my gifts examined, & if they shalbe supposed to be such as the church may haue vse of, then let all holy means be vsed, which shalbe aduised to be fit to be done in such a dangerous time, and weightie action. So beseeching God to gouern vs in all our wayes, and preserve vs in all our dangers, and supply vs with whatsoeuer we stand in need of, I humbly and heartily commend you to God, this 21. day of May, 1591.

Note.

The effect of the speeches which Coppinger had with him at their conference (as the said gentleman himselfe reported) was to commend the cause of y^e preachers committed, to incourage him to the defence of it, adding that it was the trueth of God, & that in the end it would preuaile. Then the said Coppinger began to declare vnto him his reuelations, his great fasting and prayer, and how God had indued him with an extraordinarie grace of prayer, perswasion or prophesie: & that God had appointed him (as he was perswaded) to reueale the will of God touching the reformation of his Church, that he had an extraordinarie calling to doe good to the Church, and what seuerall conflicts he had in himselfe before he yelded to this extraordinarie motion or calling from God. Therefore his request

quest was, that by the sayd gentlemen's meanes, his gifts and calling might bee tried and allowed by those godly preachers, &c. What the preachers and others that were conferred with, answered to Coppinger herein, and whether more dutifully to the estate, then warily: so as they might neither (as they thought) endanger themselves, nor kill or discourage the zeale of that their brother, in so pretended holy a cause, may partly by that which is afore spoken appeare, and wee may then beleue them when they shall tell vs the whole truth thereof.

A comfortable
change.

But how slender and cold discouragement he found with some preachers of London (with whom hee delt) touching his fantasticall *extraordinarie* calling, and dangerous plots, may also appeare by these words found in a letter of his, viz. *Good master L. as master E. former cariage in this action (which standeth me much vpon to deale aduisedly in) did somewhat trouble me, so his Christian and louing answer (deliuered now by you from him vnto me) doth much comfort me, though by reason of some particular businesse (which I must necessarily follow) I cannot attend till Friday in the after noone, or Saturday any part of the day. And after in the same letter thus: Satan by his angelicall wisdom (which he still retaineth) doth many times preuaile with the holiest to make them feare good successe in the best causes, in regard of the lets and hinderances which himselfe laieth in the way. It cannot be denied but y^e the cause is good, which I desire to be an actor in: but it is sayd by some that it is impossible that I should be fit to meddle therin. So that here a christian & louing answer to his great comfort is giue, further conferre by speech is offred, & the course not so much misliked, as the success only is doubted by reason of his vnfitness y^e was to be an actor in it.*

But what resolution herein was also returned from the preachers of foraine parts to this case of conscience propounded by Coppinger, may hereby (not vnprobably) be gathered. Arthington at one of his examinations confessed, that Penrie sent a letter vnto him forth of Scotland, wherein he signified, that Reformatiō (for so they speake) must shortly be erected in England: & herein he said, that he tooke Penrie to be a prophet. Now it is sure that Penrie conueied himselfe priuily into England, and was lurking about London, at the self same time when these other prophets arose in Chepeside, attending (as seemeth) the fulfilling of this his prophesie also by their meanes.

How dutifully and aduisedly those that be subiects haue dealt, which (hauing intelligence hereof) did conceale it, till it burst forth

forth of it selfe, with apparant danger to her Maestie and the whole state may thus be gathered. For by this conceit of *Coppinger* (you heare) it is pretended and surmised, that a commendable cause, a cause to be defended, yea the very trueth of God, (which must preuaile) is by the state suppressed and kept vnder: that it is the will of God to haue such a reformation: that impeachment of it is offered by the *Queene, Counsell and Nobles*: that this is a great sinne meete to be repented of by them: that they must be brought to this repentance: that the penaltie against any of them that refuse to be brought, is to be detected as Traytors, an offence deserving death: that this must bee done out of hand: that the will of God (in great fauour for the good of his *Church*) was revealed to him in this behalfe, being a man of much fasting, prayer, rare gifts, a prophet, an *extraordinaire* man, with an *extraordinaire* calling; such as was not to bee iudged of, or discerned by meere ordinarie men, and whereinto he entred not rashly or on a sudden, but after many conflicts with himselfe before his yeelding to Gods *extraordinaire* motion and calling: but submitting himselfe neuertheless, to haue his gifts and calling tryed and allowed of, by the best reformed Preachers, and therefore not worthy to bee suspected, or discredited: that the way to bring them to this repentance was a secret mysterie, such as those preachers and others whom he conferred with (albeit they helde it a worke to bee wished at Gods hands) yet by his talke gathered the maner of bringing it in, to be so dangerous, as that they feared the successe, and refused to bee made acquainted with the particular wayes and meanes, which hee had plotted to effect it. Thereby making choise rather that *Coppinger* should venture to put it in practise (if he remained resolute herein, which they found by him) of what dangerous consequence soeuer such a way might be, then that they, by bewraying of him to authoritie, should bee any meanes to breake of and preuent his resolution, or quench his zeale. And thus (with opinion of safetie to themselves) they merchandized the hazard of their friends life, or els the rearing of sedition in the Realme, with the hope that secretly they nourished, to haue the *Discipline* (which they dreame of) erected.

Thus *Coppinger* (remayning still more confirmed and settled in this veyne) by his Pue-fellowe *Wigginton* about *Easter* terme last being (as is aforesayd) brought acquainted with *Hucker* (as with

a most holy man) soone after would needes bring *Arthington* also acquainted with him, as one, whom (vpon so small knowledge) he had obserued, to bee a very rare man. For this purpose hee sent for *Arthington* to dinner or supper vnto *Lawsons* house neere to *Paules* gate, where *Arthington* met first with *Hacket*, together with another, whom he calleth a godly man: of whose ordinary talke then had, *Arthington* liked very well: but had (as he saith) at that time no further conference with him. After which time, *Arthington* discontinued from the Citie, & remained in *Yorkeeshire* vntil *Trinitie* terme, leauing *Hacket* and *Coppinger* behinde him, plotting of their purposes together: what purposes they had, what counsell they entred into, and what conferences they entertained betwixt themselves and with others, by the euents ensuing, will best bee discouered. After this, *Hacket* staid not long in *London*, but desired *Coppinger* at his departure, to write vnto him what successe *I. T.* had, & withall assuring him, that whensoever he should write for him, he the said *Hacket* would streightway come vp againe. Hereupon *Coppinger* writte vnto him first at the end of *Easter* terme, and after againe very earnestly to be at *London* three dayes before the beginning of *Trinitie* terme last, but he coulde not bee heere so soone by three or foure dayes. When he was come, he lodged the first night at *Islington*: but sent his horse downe againe into the countrey, as purposing to stay long in *London*. Then after a night or two (one of which nights hee lodged at the sayd *Lawsons* house by *Wiggintons* direction) hee was prouided of a chamber and of his boord at one *Ralfe Kayes* house in *Knight-rider* streete by *Coppingers* meanes, and at his charges, for he cost *Coppinger* there eleuen shillings by the weeke: But *Kayes* waxing weary of him (in part for that he feared *Hacket* was a coniurer or witch, in that the Camonill (he saith) in his Garden where *Hacket* either trode or sate, did wither vp the next night, and waxed blacke) therfore *Coppinger* prouided at his own charges likewise an other roome for him, at one *Walkers* house by *Broken wharfe*, where he remained vntill his apprehension.

Whiles *Hacket* was at *Kayes* house, he vsed before & after meales to pray (as seemed) most deuoutly and zealously, but neuer for the *Queenes Maiestie*. *Hacket* also tolde *Kayes*, that if all the Diuines in *England* should pray for raine, if hee sayde the word, yet it should not rayne.

The first of the aforesayde letters which *Coppinger* writte vnto
Hacket

Hacker to moue him to come vp, doeth containe matter of note besides, not vnfit to be knowen. **Brother Hacker** (saith he) the burden which God hath layde vpon mee (you being the instrument to make me bolde and couragious, where I was fearefull and faint) is greater then I can beare without your helpe here, though I haue it where you are. The workings of his holy spirite in me since your departure, bee mightie and great: my zeale of spirit burneth like fire, so that I cannot containe my selfe, and conceale his mercies towards mee. And a litle after in the same letter: **Master Thr.** is put off till the next tearme, the zealous preachers (as it is thought) are to be in the Starre Chamber tomorrow, the Lord by his holy Spirit bee with them: my selfe (if I can get in) am moued to be there: and I feare (if sentence with faueritie be giuen) I shall be forced (in the name of the great and fearefull God of heauen) to protest against it: my desire is, that you haste vp so soone as you can: your charges shall be borne by mee. And somewhat after, thus: If his most holy Spirit direct you to come, come: If not, stay: but write with speede, and conuey your letter and inclose it in a letter to him, who brought you and mee acquainted (vz. **Wigginton**) put not your name to it, for discovery: direct your letter thus, To my louing brother in the Lord, giue these my letters: I put to no name, but the matter you know, which sufficeth. Pray that the Lord may reigne, and that his subiects may obey: that all instruments whatsoeuer, that shall bee used, may bee furnished with such giftes and graces as euery one haue, or shall haue neede of: that it may appeare, that the action (nowe in hand) is his owne: and therefore he will provide safety for his holy ones, and destruction for those who are vessels of wrath: who haue accomplished the number of their finnes, which call for vengeance from heauen. These letters **Hacker** carried to **Pamplin** scholemaster of **Oundell** to be read vnto him, for that himselfe could neither write nor reade: but I haue not yet heard that he complained thereof to any in authoritie.

When **Arthington** also about the midst of **Trinitie** terme last was returned to **London**, **Coppinger** (hearing therof) came to his lodging, and then (with many words) extolled and magnified **Hacker** vnto him, for the holiest man that euer was, **Christ** only excepted, & one that trauailed (together with him) for the good of the **Queene** & the land, but after an extraordinary maner, and not both by one meanes. And albeit **Arthington** (as now he saith) desired them to keepe their secrets to themselues, and not to trouble him with them, (who had other businesse to attend:) yet **Coppinger** importuned him so,

as hee could not auoyde, but yeelde to heare *Hacket* pray before them (as a man of a singular spirit, albeit vterly vnlerned of the booke.) The first prayer of his (that *Arthington* heard) was about foure or fife weekes before their apprehension. All which prayers conceiued by *Hacket* (euen since his apprehension) the sayde *Arthington* praysed to be so diuine, sweete and heavenly, that thereby he was drawen into a great admiration of him. In all the praier that *Hacket* made in his presence, *Arthington* obserued this difference from other mens: that he vsually therein desired the Lord to confounde him, if he did not seeke onely his honour and glorie in all things: which *Arthington* marking from time to time in him, and seeing him still to be so perfectly sound and very wel, was thereby drawen (together with *Coppingers* wordes and experience of him) to reckon and esteeme of him, as of a most holy man.

This lesson of wishing themselves confounded, his sayde, two schollers (by imitation) did so perfectly learne of him, that to the great astonishment and horror of such (that afterward examined them) they vsed this execration: wishing themselves confounded and damned, if they said not the truth, in euery matter whereof they made any asseueration, and wherein they desired to be credited, thinking (as *Arthington* confesseth) that whatsoever the spirit (as he fantasied) tolde him was a truth, he was bound to binde it vpon his saluation or damnation. These being ioyned with the relation of certaine extreme torments, which *Hacket* had signified vnto them that he suffered, not onely outwardly by the instigation of certaine noble and worshipfull persons (as he vntreuly made them beleeue) but more grieuously a great deale (hee sayde) by suffering whatsoever either Deuils in hell, Sorcerers or Witches in earth, could practise against him (all which he pretended to haue endured for triall and prooffe, that the Gospell was the true Religion against Poperie and all other sects) did so deeply astonish, or rather infatuate them: that (after great fasting and prayer vsed, which fasting they vsually performed on the Sabbath dayes) they all did resolutely conclude, that if *Hacket* indured in truth all these torments and practises against him, for so holy an ende, no doubt hee was a man, which shoulde not onely establish the Gospell in all kingdomes, but all *Kings* and *Princes* should also yeelde their scepters vnto him, and hee shoulde bee established chiefe king ouer all *Europe*. Reasoning thus with themselves, that surely the Lord had

some

Some great good to be done by him that had indured so much for his sake.

Nowe, this was the opinion, which to haue firmly planted in them two (as in deede it was first in *Coppinger*, and afterward in *Arthington*) was the mayne scope and drift (as may seeme) of all *Hacket*'s cunning counterfaiting of so much holinesse, pietie, zeale and religion.

To worke this, he handled his actions so warily with them, that *Coppinger* seriously once auouched vnto *Arthington*, how himselfe had by good experience found, that God would denie vnto *Hacket* nothing which he prayed for or desired, and namely protested, that *Hacket* begged of God in a drought (that was not long afore their apprehension) a showre of rayne, and that it was presently sent in good aboundance, *Coppinger* also so firmly beleeued *Hacket*, that he tolde his owne man *Emerson*, how *Hacket* being imprisoned, the boltes would (often) fall off his heeles miraculously.

But for prooffe that such incredible torments were in deede suffered by *Hacket*, he appealed herein to some of the Nobilitie, and to diuers others both of worshippe and good credite. This did *Coppinger* further confirme vnto *Arthington*, saying, that Master *Wigginton* also did iustifie the trueth of the torments that *Hacket* suffered, and could doe it with a hundred honest witnesses moe, if neede required. And *Arthington* himselfe also once heard *Wigginton* pitifully tell, how great and extreme torments *Hacket* had indured.

But being asked by them, why hee was so tormented, and how these could tend to proue the Gospel to be the onely true religion? *Hacket* answered them thus: that his tormentors (the better to colour their lewde purposes and malice) gaue out and surmised him to be out of his wits, but the trueth was (sayde he) that being once at table with one *G. H.* an obstinate Papist, and reasoning which was the true religion (I defending this which we now professe to be the trueth, against *Poperie* and all other sectes) amongst other speeches, I protested vpon my damnation, that this was the trueth, and withall prayed, that I might sinke presently downe into hell, if it was not so: and that, if he the said *G. H.* would say so much for his religion, if hee did not sinke presently into hell, then would I take *Poperie* to be the true religion. But he refusing so to doe, and being greatly moued thereby against me, complotted with a Knight (a neere kinsman of his) and with another gentleman (being a Pa-

pist) and with sundry others, who found such meanes, as that they procured Devils to be raysted, Sorcerers, witches, and Enchaunters (all which (sayde hee) I knowe and can name, and minde one day, to helpe to burne them) to worke vpon my body, with intent to make mee call backe my sayde wordes of protestation, concerning the truethe of this religion, which if I would not doe (sayde they) but could endure the torments that they would inflict, then they all would bee of my religion, and would make mee *Emperour* ouer all *Europe*.

This tale to them that had minds afore prepared, and tooke *Hacket* by reason of his most earnest protestations, prayers, shewe of zeale pretended, fauour with God, and such like, to be a man that would not tell an vntueth for all the worlde, seemed no way vnprobable, or to be discredited: so that these three principall actors hauing as well among themselues, as with others often conferred hereabouts (both by word and writing) were by the midst of *Trinitie* terme become most resolute, for the aduancing of their desighments. For in a letter written by *Coppingen* (about that time) to the aforefald *I. Thr.* it is thus contained. *Mine owne deare brother, my selfe and my two brethren, who lately were together with you in Knight ryders straete, doe much desire conference with you, which will aske some time. The businesse is the Lords owne, and hee doth deale in it himselfe, in a strange and extraordinary maner in poore and simple creatures. Much is done since you did see vs, which you will reioyce to heare of, when wee shall meete, and therefore I beseech you (so soone as you receiue this letter) hasten an answer in writing to my sisters house: therein aduertise (I beseeche you) when I may come to speake with you; for delayes are dangerous, and some of the great enemies beginne to be pursued by God, as they are at their wits end. The Lord make vs thankful for it, who keepe vs euer to himselfe, to doe his will and not ours. By occasion also of hearing Master Charke on a Fryday about that time at the Blacke fryers, Coppingen saith, he was thereupon moued by Gods spirite to write vnto him a letter, which beareth date the 9. day of Iuly last. In which letter (amongst other things) thus hee writeth vnto him. I doe not denie good Syr, but that I haue nowe (a good long time) taken a strange and extraordinary course, such as hath offered occasion of suspicion, of my not ouely doing hurt to my selfe, but also to the best sort of men now in question, and to the cause it selfe. But by what warrant I haue done this, that is all: for if the holy Ghost haue benemy warrant,*
and

Note.

and carryeth mee into such actions, as are differing from others of great note in the Church of God, what flesh and blood dare speake against me? This is it that I desire at your hands, and at all the rest of Gods servants, that you forbear to censure me and such others, as shall deale extraordinarily with me in the Lords busines committed to our charge, & iudge of us by the effects that followe: which if you hereafter see to be wonderfull great, then are all ordinarie men (placed in callings within this land) to feare, and to call themselves to examination before the Iustice seate of God, and see whether they haue walked faithfully before God and man, in seeking the saluation of the soules of the people, and the aduancement of Christs kingdome, and the ouerthrowe of Antichristes. And if all and euery one in their places shall be forced to confesse, to haue fayled in not discharge of their dueties, let them acknowledge their sinne and repent, before plagues and punishments fall upon them. The waste of the Church cannot be denyed to be great, so that there is place for extraordinary men (though temporizing Christians will not admit this) therefore Gods mercies shall appeare to be wonderfull great, if amongst vs he haue raysed up such, as I knowe hee hath, and hereafter I doubt not (by Gods grace) but I, with the helpe of the rest, shalbe able to answere against all gaine sayers whatsoener. My desire heretofore hath bene to haue counsaile and direction from others: but now (by comfortable experience) I finde that the action (which the Lorde hath drawen me into) is his owne, and he wil direct it himselfe by the holy Ghost, and haue the full honour of it, and therefore I wayte upon him, and yet most hartily craue the prayers of the Saints, that they will beseech God to blesse all his servants, that he hath set aworke in his owne businesse. And I further beseech you, to shewe this Letter to Master Trauerie, and Master Egerton, and all the rest of the godly Preachers in the Citie, and iudge charitably of me and others, and let euery one looke to his owne calling, that therein he may deale faithfully, and let vs iudge our selues, & not iudge one another further then we haue warrant. After this letter, it hapned that M. Charke preached in the same place againe the next Sunday after, at which time Coppinger tooke him selfe to be particularly meant by one part of y sermon. Whereupon hee wrote a letter to another Preacher (as I doe gather) the thursday after viz. 15. of Iuly: wherby he thus signifieth. M. Charke told the people, that there were some persons so desperate, that they would willingly thrust themselves upon the rockes of the lande, and waves of the sea. This I tooke to be spoken principally to my selfe, & therefore I thought good to aduertise you, that he spake y truthe in those words:

but

Conspiracie, for

but he touched not mee, but himselfe, and the rest of the ministers of the lande, who haue not onely runne desperately themselves upon the rocks and waues, but carryed the whole shippe, whereby they all bee in danger of shipwracke, and shoulde haue perished, if the Lorde had not immediatly called three of his seruants to helpe to reouer it, who are not onely sent from God to his Church here, but also elsewhere, through the worlde. My calling is specially to deale with Magistrates. Another hath to doe with Ministers, who hath written a letter to you of the Citie, but it cannot be deliuered hardly this day. The other third is the chiefeest (who can neither write nor reade) for he is the Lords Executioner of his most holy will. This letter is thus subscribed, *The Lords messenger of mercy, Ed. Coppinger.*

These three therefore strongly fansying to themselves such extraordinary callings, and standing resolute by all meanes to aduance that (which they falsely call *Reformation*) and beeing thus seduced and bemoped by *Hacket*, it is no marueile though they entered further (as by degrees) into many lewde, dangerous, and traiterous attempts.

For first hauing conceaued mortall hatred against two great and and worthie Counsaillers of this estate (who they thought would not a little stop the course they had taken, and hinder the purpose which they pursued:) *Coppinger* therefore (by *Hackets* aduice) directed seuerall letters vnto some honourable personages, whereby he signified, that certaine treasons were entended euen against her *Maesties* owne sacred person: meaning after to appeach those two thereof: and hoping by this meanes, either to take them away, or at least their credites with her *Maestie*, vntill hee and his complices might bring their purposes to some better passe: or else (by this colourable pretence hauing access & opportunitie) to haue executed some wicked practise against her royall person. The discouery, auouching and prooffe of these supposed treasons, *Hacket* and he did take (especially vpon themselves.)

The first two letters that (I finde) *Coppinger* writte to the sayd honourable personages about this pretended matter of treason to be discouered, was the third day of Iune last: both to this purpose, to haue them acquaint her *Maestie*, that intelligence was giuen vnto him of some treason intended against her owne sacred person, but naming no particular. In the one of them, hee enclosed a letter of his to her *Maestie* and certaine petitions, which he would haue had

had to be offered vnto her highnesse, being to this effect: That hee might haue leaue to entertaine the action of such discouerie; that as matters should come to light, he might resort to a certaine worthy *Counsellor* (by him there named) to acquaint him therewith, and to haue his counsell and direction: that hee the saide *Coppinger* might conferre and examine *Iesuites* and all prisoners (suspected or condemned of treason) about these matters, in the presence of certaine others: That for better furtherance of his seruice, hee might haue this fauour to stay iudgement, or at least execution against condemned persons for crymes capitall or smaller, vntill her Maiestie might haue account giuen of the cause of his so doing: that he might be pardoned for so bolde an attempt, if in ouer much feare of danger to her sacred person, hee had, or afterwarde should goe too farre, and not effect that in the ende, which hee hoped to doe: and lastly, that this matter might bee concealed from all men. But the sayde honourable personage finding this to bee an vnlikely and strange course to bee yeelded vnto (as may be gathered by the answere, and by the other letters) directed him to a more sounde way: viz. To learne first the groundes persitely, to acquaint none other with the matter, and to doe it speedily. Hereupon the eight of the sayde *June*, hee addressed another letter to the same personage, enclosing therein a letter written to him from *Hacket*, and dated the last day of *May*, and one other letter of his owne to her Maiestie, to haue bene deliuered vnto her Highnesse. His letter to the sayde honourable personage, is to commend the writer of that letter enclosed, not naming him, (for *Coppinger* had rased out both *Hackets* name & the name of *Oundel* from whence it came) as a man able and willing, to doe her Maiestie some principall seruice, to offer their attendances to come before her Maiestie, and to vrge the deliury of the letters, for that the matter (he said) admitted no delayes. The letter from *Hacket* is nothing but an inciting and animating of *Coppinger*, to performe the Lordes businesse (he had in hand) by many holy, and deuoute words and hypocriticall allusions to certaine stories of the scripture. *Coppinger* his letter to her Maiestie, commendeth the inditer of that inclosed, for a man beloued of God, and fearing him vnfaignedly, and one enabled (by God) to do her highnes some speciall seruice: he also humbly desireth thereby, that they two might appeare before here owne Princely person, in the presence onely of

two certaine Lordes and one Ladie. But the sayde honourable personage sent *Hackets* Letter againe vnto *Coppinger*, as of no moment for that purpose, and stayed the deliuey of his Letter to her *Maiestie*, till some particular intelligence might be had, to be first deliuered to her Highnesse. The same day *Coppinger* also writ two seuerall Letters to the same two Lordes, in whose presence he and *Hacket* desired to come before her *Maiestie*, and to deliuer their intelligence; this he did, to aduertise them hereof afore hand. That which is written to the one of them, mentioneth a supplication, which *Coppinger* sent (the day afore) vnto his L. to make passage to some better seruice to her *Maiestie*, which he hoped should bee done shortly to her Highnesse good liking, and to his L. great honour, for that hee should bee the chiefe actor therein. Vpon some answere returned from the Ladie afore mentioned, crauing some particulars of that which they meant to discouer, *Coppinger* writte to *Hacket* (being in London) to vrge him vnto some more speciall poynt of intelligence: whereunto *Hacket* (the sayde eight of *Iune*) answering by Letter to small purpose, and subscribing his Letter thus, *As you finde mee, so call mee*: *Coppinger* therefore returned in answere another Letter presently vnto him, whereby he signified, that *Hacket* must manifest somewhat more plainly, of some practise worth the reueiling, otherwise they both should worthily fall into her *Maiesties* indignation: for that which he had then writ, would not satisfie her *Maiestie* and the State, concerning the danger which *Hacket* supposed to bee comming vpon the lande, and wherewith he seemed to be acquainted.

Vpon such ouerture (as afore is touched) made to one of the said Lords, he had the said two appeachers before him on the tenth of *Iune*: but finding *Hackets* demeanour of himselfe very strange, and their imputations as friuolous, hee dismissed them (as is sayde) without further a doe, to their great discontentment. Hereupon *Coppinger* (in stomacke so farre as he durst) writte another Letter to the sayde Noble man the eleuenth of *Iune*: hereby hee signified, that were it not that he had beene before acquainted with the graces and giftes of the holy Ghost, which hee did assure himselfe to bee in *Hacket* in an *extraordinarie* manner, hee shoulde haue esteemed of him (by his behauour) as his Lordshippe did. Therefore what trouble or daunger soeuer might come to himselfe by it, hee was resolute to abide it, and further chargeth the

the sayde Noble man (in Gods name) to deliuer the Letters and Copies there inclosed to her *Maiestie*, signifying, that what punishment shoulde in that respect bee allotted to him or vnto *Hacket*, they would vndergoe it, and not depart the Citie, till they might further vnderstande, what God would doe therein. Sure it is, that (being thus shaken off by him) they grewe extremely malicious also against the sayde worrhie Noble man.

I finde also a Copie of a Letter written in *Coppingers* hande, but meant to bee sent as from *Hacket*, vnto her excellent *Maiestie*: wherein (amongst other things) hee desireth hee may enioy that, which God hath appoynted him, and then lewdely, and falsely accuseth and reuileth two great and worthy *Counsaylours*. In the ende hee sayeth, that if hee shoulde tell her the imagementes of God that lye at her gate (which the Lorde hath shewed him) they woulde bee ouer fearefull for her to endure, or to heare of. And if hee doubted of his sending from the Lorde, hee willet her to aske a signe, and if he giue it not, let him dye.

A seconde course taken by them besides the former appeachements, was a conspiracie of the death of certaine the Lords of the Councell, when they should bee at the Starre-chamber, in case they should giue any iudgement against certaine, that were (sometime) Preachers, and are now prisoners for misdemeanors, perillous to the peaceable state of the Realme, as is intended. That this deuilish purpose was rise amongst them, may appeare by a letter sent by *Copinger* in *Trinitie* terme last, vnto the aforenamed *Lancaster*. In which was contayned to this effect, that if the Lordes should giue a hard censure against those parties (the next day) if God shewed not such a fearefull iudgement against some of those Lordes, as that some of them should not go alike out of that place, then neuer trust him. And albeit some y^e sawe this letter, could not picke any further matter out of it, then *Coppingers* conceipt, that God (without some speedie and miraculous iudgement from himselfe alone) would not suffer such men to bee punished: yet *Lancaster* (to whome it was directed) iustly suspected some further meaning, and that the concealing of it might be both accounted vnduetifull, and further also dangerous vnto him, and therefore asked counsell of some more skilfull then himselfe, whether hee might safely suppress it, and teare the letter in pieces.

Another deuise they also had for preparing (as is supposed)

of the mindes of the people, and to stirre them vp to be in readines, which was by certaine seditious letters, that were purposely scatterred fise or sixe nights afore in many of the streetes of *London*, by some of these actors, or by their complices and fauourers. Likewise there was found in *Wiggintons* chamber (in the prison where hee remayneth) about a thousande printed Pamphlets of two sortes: the one of *Predestination*, the other carrying an odde and needelesse title to euery man, that knoweth but the Author. For it is entituled on the first side, in great letters thus: viz. *The Fooles bolte*: and immediatly vnder that title, this sentence is set downe worthis to be duely considered, with all his circumstances now apparant, viz. *Such as doe surmize the complaynt of Innocencie to be reuenge, and the report of Trueth to be slander, shall neuer want the due reward of their grosse error, whilest Innocencie and Trueth shall endure.* On the other side of the sheete the title is, *A fatherly exhortation to a certaine yong courtier.* The matter thereof is conceiued into an halting ryme, rousing lewdly not only at the gouernours Ecclesiastical, and at other Ministers, but also at sundry hauing ciuil authoritie and high places. Amongst the rest, the first two stauces and last stauce are most perillous, if ye respect the present action these persons had in hand, their opinions of this state, and the base condition and state of the chiefe of them. The first are these. viz.

My sonne if thou a Courtier sue to bee,

In snore of youth this lesson learne of mee.

A Christian true although he be a clowne,

May teach a king to weare scepter and crowne. And in the last stauce are these. viz.

For God will sure confound such as deuise

His ordinance or Church to tyrannize. &c.

These papers *Wigginton* (by the meanes and helpe of one *Browne*) procured priuily to be printed at *Whitfontide* last, and being examined touching them by her Maiesties Counsell and others, he confessed, that they were all to be sent to women, the weaker vessels: viz. to *Mistrass L.* *Mistresse B.* and to I knowe not how many Mistresses, by them to be dispersed abroad: to the intent, that euery one (to whom they might come) should conceiue of them, as the spirit should moue them. And *Hacket* also confessed, that a part of certaine writings which *Wigginton* and *Coppinger* framed was, that *a Clowne might teach a King to weare a Crowne.*

Now

Now that *Wigginton* held intelligence in these matters with the conspirators, and that there was mutuall and ordinarie correspondence betwixt him and them in all ploys for aduancing of their *Discipline per fas & nefas* (besides that which in this behalfe hath bene touched afore) is made also manifest, by the confession of *Arthington*, who saith, that about the fifteenth of *Iuly*, or not long before, hee heard *Hacket* singing of certaine songs, who then wished that *Arthington* had also some of them: for it was a very speciall thing, and (laid he) *M. Wigginton* hath a great many of them.

Also *Coppinger* had once conference with *Wigginton* (in the presence of *Arthington*) touching his *extraordinarie* calling. At what time it is pretended, that *Wigginton* refused to bee made acquainted with the manner of *Coppingers secrets*: and that he vsed these speeches to *Coppinger*, v^z. *You are knowne to be an honest Gentleman, and sworne to the Queene, and therefore I will not be acquainted with those things, which God hath reuealed vnto you for the good of your Soueraigne.* And his opinion of such extraordinary callings (set downe vnder his owne hand) doth else-where appeare, whereby is argued, that he was made a common oracle for such *fantastiques*: that he knewe the matter in generalitie, which by *Coppinger* was to be wrought vpon the *Queene*, to bring her (forsooth) to repentance, howsoeuer he refused to knowe the particular manner of such secrets: that hee acknowledged it to bee good for the *Queene*, and yeelded it (without scruple) to bee reuealed vnto *Coppinger* from God, so that it could not be, but that *Coppinger* hereby was much animated to goe forward in his conceiued wickednesse. Besides, *Wigginton* taketh knowledge (as appeareth by a paper of his owne hand writing found in his Chamber) that *Hacket* had defaced the *Queenes armes*, and had vttered dangerous wordes, importing himselfe to be a King, and his mislike of all Kings now raigning, since his last coming to *London*. *Hacket* further declared vnto *M. Young* on the 24. of *Iuly*, that he was once (in companie of two Gentlemen and of *Mistris Walker* and *Mistris Lawson*) with *Wigginton* in his Chamber, where and when he heard *Wigginton* say, that if the *Magistrates* doe not gouerne well, the people might drawe themselves together, and to see a *Reformation*. This dangerous opinion of his, may bee also gathered out of a letter of his owne hande writing (found with him) being dated the sixth of *Nonember* last, wherein he thus writeth, *M. Cartwright* (saith he) is in the *Fleete* for refusall

of the oath, as I beare, and *M. K.* is sent for, and sundry worthie ministers are disquieted who haue bene spared long, So that wee looke for some bickering ere long, and then a battaile, which cannot long endure.

A fourth purpose of theirs, was not onely to make an alteration in the state of Church-gouernement, and to plant in euery congregation their *Elderships* or *Consistorie* of *Doctor*, *Pastor*, and certaine *laye Elders* with the appurtenances: but also to change the Ciuill policie of this Realme. For which consideration, they meant to displace all the Lords and others of the priuie Counsell: therefore (in their speeches and writings touching these Counsellors) they vsed of late no title of honour, but their bare names and surnames, or els their names with this addition: *Late L. Ch.* or *late L. Tr.* as if they were already disauthorised, and in their steads they had nominated and set downe, certaine others (in trueth very honorable and worshipfull persons) that should be counsellors, of whome euery honest man neuerthelesse is perswaded, that they detest both these and all other such vile, seditious and fanaticall persons and courses.

Coppinger (not long afore their rising as it seemeth) penned a letter to haue bene sent to the one of the afore sayde honorable personages. In this letter he chargeth a great & worthy Counsellor (vsing onely his *Christian* name and surname) that he together with his hellish and infernall companions (for so he raueth) had committed treason in the hiest degree against her *Maiestie*. He desireth that honorable personage to effect, that the said Counsellor, himselfe, and two others of the Lords messengers, may be brought before the *Queenes Maiestie*: and if he be not proued a traitor to God and her, then let me (saith he) for my pride and presumption, be hanged at the Court gates. Then he exclaimeth against another great Counsellour (terming him but by his bare name likewise) to who he had sent letters & copies to haue bin shewed to her *Maiestie*, and there sheweth himselfe greatly offended with him, because hee was not (as he hoped) brought to her Royal presence, adding thus therto, but he & the rest (saith he) of her wicked Counsellors, & vngodly magistrats shalbe forced to acknowledge, what they are worthy to haue: the Lord pardō their soules, for in their outward man, they must be punished, though they repent: & a litle after, thus. I doe aduise also that euery one of her Counsell be cōmanded to keepe their house or chamber, for feare of stirre or danger. Then he doth appoint to her *Maiestie* a new Counsel, aduising that *Wigginton* (a man in more fauour (he saith) with God, then any man of his calling whatsoeuer) be cōmanded to be neere her highnesse, to pray to God, or to preach privately.

Note.

By

By the like resolute vaine, *Arthington* also chargeth the sayde Counsellor, as deeply, and vpon the like & greater penaltie to himselfe, in a supplication penned by him to haue bene sent to her Maiestie. But I will giue you a taste how friuolously, & vpon what fond proofes he groundeth his accusation, to the end it may appeare, that this was but a colourable pretense wherein they reposed no great suretie of successe, but hoped at length thereby to haue brought themselves and *Hacket*, to her Maiesties presence. The issue he tendereth is this, *That if in her Maiesties presence he prooue not the saide Counsellor to be the most dangerous enemye that was discovered since her highnesse reigne, then let his body and soule be for euer damned: Provided alwaies, that if her Maiestie cannot (by his euidence) iudge him the said Counsellor to be so bad as he makes report of him, yet that she would giue him the saide Arthington leaue in her sacred Presence, to fight the combat of praier with him, wherein, if it please him (saith Arth.) I wil first begin to pray against my selfe, that if he be not as deeply guiltie as I haue charged him, then that Gods vengeance may presently consume me both body & soule into hell for euer, which if it come to passe, the victorie shalbe his, & he retorne an innocent. But if he see me leape vp for ioy, as one that hath discovered him to be a traitor, then if he dare fal down in like sort, & make the same praier, that the like vengeance may fal vpon himself, if he be so deeply guilty as I haue charged him, & if Gods vengeance fall not vpon him before he depart out of her presence, let me be hangd, drawn & quartered for laboring to impeach a Counsellors credit: but if he dare not thus enter the listes with me before her Maiestie, let him be holden guiltie.*

Newe Triall
by combat
in prayer.

Their last & most damnable designment of al was the depriuation of her sacred Maiesty fro her Crown & dignity, & the destruction of her Royal patson, whom the eternal God (in mercy) long preserue, to the confusion of all seditious wretches her enemies of all sorts.

The very particular & principall meanes how these diuelish purposes were meant to be effected by them, *Arthington* now saith, that they were not opened vnto him: pretending that though the other two seemed willing to haue imparted some of their secretes vnto him, yet himselfe was alwayes vnwilling to heare any of them. But for the speciall meanes that *Coppinger* had plotted to bring the *Q. Maiestie* & Counsel to repentance, he saith that this was a secret mystery (as *Hacket* & *Coppinger* affirmed to him) which they would keepe to themselves, & were so enioyned of the Lord. But whether soeuer the way to effect these, was ment by some open violence, or secret practise: sure it is, that popular tumult was not the least meanes

meanes they trusted of, to bring them to passe, which they hoped to stirre vp by their pretence of so great holinesse, with calling the Realme to repentance in the open streetes of *London*, by offering ioyes and mercie to the penitent, and by their Proclamation also then made in *Chepeside*, as hereafter commeth to be declared.

Now that these their two last purposes were in deede the principal & maine ends which they propounded to themselves (besides that which by the way is noted already, & that which comes hereafter to be mentioned) let these fewe proofes ensuing suffice. First for the alteration of the whole gouernment Ecclesiasticall and erecting of the new *Discipline*: It is confessed, that *Coppinger* & *Arthington* the two counterfeit prophets (on the 16. of *Iuly* last being *Friday*, and the selfe same day that they arose in *Cheapeside*) tolde *Wigginton* in the morning, these words amongst many others: v^z. *That reformation of the Lords Discipline should now forthwith be established, & therefore charged Wigginton in the Lords name, to put all Christians in comfort, that they should see a ioyfull alteration in the state of Church-gouernment shortly.* To which wordes *Wigginton* made no reply nor further demaund, as of any matter strange vnto him, how it was so shortly to be compassed. Wherein may also be obserued, that these kinde of persons doe reckon and terme onely those *Christians*; that will take comfort and ioy at such an alteration. So that (by their opinions) it skilleth not, what be attempted or done against all others, being but as *Heathens* and *Paynims*, or at least *Idolaters*.

Thus much (with their seditious purposes also) is plainly implied in a dangerous letter written by the said *Coppinger* since *Easter* last, vnto one *Iohn Vdale* a condemned man for Felonie, in the *White Lyon* in *Surrey*, for writing of the booke termed the *Demonstration of Discipline*: that letter beginneth thus: *Right reuerend Sir, my forbearing to visite you and the rest of the Saints (who suffer for righteousness sake) doe giue you all cause to thinke that I haue forsaken my first loue, and haue embraced the God of this world. But my conscience beareth mee witnesse of the contrary: the reasons of mine absence being so great and so weightie, that hereafter when they shalbe examined by yourselves (who are indued with the spirit of wisdom and discerning of spirits) I doubt not but you will allowe of my not coming, which might bring you into more trouble and danger, then it would do me good, or breede me comfort. And afterward thus, You haue care & conscience to further the building of the Lords house which lieth waste, and to seeke the small overthrow*

Note.

throw of Antichrists kingdome: which being the Lords owne worke, hee will blesse it, and all the actors in it. And this I dare be bold (of mine owne knowledge) to report, that in this great worke he hath diuers that lie hid, and are yet at libertie, who are hammering their heads, busying their braynes, and spending their spirits in prayers to God, as much as you or any of you that are in prison, and hope in short time to be brought forth in-
 to the sight of their and your enemies, to defend the cause you stand for. Note.
 And againe afterward in this wise: I beseech you cheere up your selues in the Lord, for the day of our redemption is at hand, and pray that the hand of the Lord may be strengthened in them, whom he hath appointed
 to take part with you in this cause, and beseech him that blessing may be upon Sion, and confusion upon Babel. Note.
 Pardon my long letter I beseech you, and impart mine humble sute to all the rest, to whom I neither dare write, nor offer to see. I neither put to my name, nor make subscription: the bringer can report who sendeth the letter, and let that suffice.

Furthermore that they hated deadly, and maligned her *Maie-
 stie* (as a principall obstacle to their innouation and kingdom, and therefore sought to depriue her highnes of her Soueraigntie and life) may be gathered by their owne words and actions: for *Hacket* confessed before the other two, that at a sermon of one *Eger-
 tons* preaching in the *Blacke Friars* (whither they vsually resort) he the sayd *Hacket* remayned vncouered all the sermon tyme, vn-
 till the preacher came to pray for her *Maiestie*, but then (hee sayd) that hee put on his hat. And when *Arthington* demaunded why he did so, *Copping*. streight way answered thus, There is a matter in that. Likewise when as (in their priuate praiers among themselues) *Arthington* vsed to pray for the *Queene*, *Copping* would sundry times tell him, that his so doing did much grieue *Hacket*, adding, that in the beginning himselfe did also pray for her, but *Hacket* had now drawen him from it: saying, there was a cause why, which *Arthington* knew not, but should know hereafter. For (saieth he) you doe not know this man (meaning *Hacket*) who is a greater person then shee, and in deed aboue all the princes in the world.

And when as on the very *Sunday* before their rising (for so themselues haue since termed that action) it hapned that *Arthing-
 ton* prayed againe for the preservation of the *Queenes Maiestie*: *Hacket* (not digesting this) suddenly with indignation turned his

face away from him, but when hee prayed for other matters, then *Hacket* cast his countenance towards him agayne : which he perceiuing that *Arthington* also marked by him, and purposing (as it seemeth) to salue vp this matter agayne, (least *Arthington* happily might yet haue fallen from them) therefore when they had ended their prayers, *Hacket* tooke him with his armes about the middle (in very kind sort) affirming, that hee loued the *Queene* as well as either of them, and desired him not to bee offended, for the Lord had commaunded it: adding further, that there was a matter in it that *Arthington* as yet knew not. Hereupon *Coppinger* (being in hearing thereof) sayd, that she might bee prayed for in generall termes, but not so specially as *Arthington* did (whereby *Hacket* was grieued) nor yet to bee prayed for as a *Soueraigne*: for (sayd hee) shee may not raigne as *Soueraigne*, but this man *Hacket*, and yet (saith hee) shee shall liue better then euer shee did, albeit shee must bee gouerned by another, thereby also meaning *Hacket*. And to the intent they might the more assuredly retaine *Arthington* without suspicion of their poisonfull malice (wherein they boyled against the *Queenes* highnesse) *Hacket* himselfe (once after this time) verie subtilly prayed for her *Maiestie*.

Note.

For prooffe that they also meant to depriue her of life, the seuerall confessions of *Arthington* at sundrie examinations may bee alleaged, Whereby (vpon that which hee heard and knew) is confessed, that hee is verilie perswaded *Hacket* meant her *Maiestie* should haue bene depriued both of kingdome and life, which hee also gathered by *Coppingers* letters, albeit hee denieth, that hee was euer made acquainted by what speciall meanes it should be done.

Thus hauing in some part described the qualities, perswasions in opinion, familiaritie, inducements vnto mutuall crediting one of another, exercises and designments of these persons : it resteth to goe on with the narration of the rest of the action, for better perfiting vp of this historie,

Hacket on a time recounting vp vnto the other two his torments (which hee pretended to haue endured) told, how (amongst others) one *Pigge* a preacher did so beate him with rods at a place in *Hartfordshire*, (whiles hee lay bound there in a sinke hole) that this cost him the sayd *Hacket* more deare, then all the
rest

rest of his torments: because thereby hee was enforced to suffer for all hypocrites also, adding thereunto, that all their best preachers (so they terme such as thirst after and perswade innouations) were no better in very trueth then *Hypocrites*, neuerthelesse hee would (hee sayd) daily heare them preach. Hereupon *Arthington* tooke occasion to tell him, that hee could prooue all such preachers to bee *Hypocrites* and *Idolaters* both (albeit of ignorance) because they doe yeeld (in some sort) to the commaundments of the gouernours, and vnto the lawes of this Church, that they may be tollerated to preach.

This pleased *Hacket* so exceedingly well, as that he beganne highly to esteeme of *Arthington*, and hereby the rather he thought good, that *Arthington* should be made acquainted with their letters. For about tenne dayes before their rising (*Arthington* saith) that *Coppinger* did greatly importune him to read the letters which he and *Hacket* had written, if it were but to see the stile: assuring him they tended to nothing else, but to make a way to acquaint her *Maiestie* with their secrets. So that when *Arthington* sawe so great Counsellors so resolutely thereby charged with matter of so high qualitie, by *Coppinger* especially (her *Maiesties* sworne seruant) hee was induced to beleue it, and to thinke they had some very good ground thereof.

Arthington also (with great contentment vnto *Hacket*) framed certaine Syllogismes, (I beleue) in a lewd *Moode*, and in an vnperfect and fond *Figure*, to prooue (forsooth) one of the sayd honourable Counsellors (whom hee and *Coppinger* vilanously afterward proclaimed traitours) to bee such as they doe charge him to bee. This woorthie worke of *Syllogismes* therefore beyng first finished, his other treatise (to prooue those preachers to bee *hypocrites* and *Idolaters*) was straightway set vpon the stocks, and began to be built on the Munday before their rising: after they all had (for obtaining good successe in this and the rest of their businessse) *bumbled themselves on the Lordes day afore in fasting and prayer*, for so bee their woordes. This latter treatise *Arthington* finished vp the *Thursday* morning next after, and termed it *A Prophecie of Iudgements against England*, whose skill in this precipitate kind of pistling, the other two so magnified, as that they termed him by a title mentioned in a *Psalme*, viz. *The pen of a readie*

writer. Where as wiser men thinke they might haue looked a litle lower, and he haue better compared it, as the wise man doeth the like, where he saith: *A word in a fooles mouth is like an arrow in a dogs leg,* because hee will neuer leaue wrinching and fisking, till he haue got it out.

Arthingtons
prophecie.

In this *prophecie* hee first setteth downe the third commandment, inferring what plagues shall light on himselfe if hee offend therein. Then commeth he to his nine seuerall assertions, adding to euery one of them, The Lord to confound him, *viz.* that if he thinke not himselfe to bee the vilest sinnefull wretch liuing: If hee take not himselfe to bee the most ignorant in Gods booke of any man that hath professed the Gospell so long: If hee acknowledge not himselfe most vnfit and vnwoorthie of all men to serue the Lord Iesus: If neuertheless he be not extraordinarily called to do the message of God more faithfully then any preacher in *England* hitherto hath done: If the Scripture doe not iustifie *extraordina-rie* callings before the endes of the world: If hee know not two persons within the citie of *London*, that haue greater *extraordina-rie* callings then himselfe, videlicet, *Edmund Coppinger*, and *William Hacket*: If the former bee not a prophet raised vp of the Lord to bring a message of great Mercie to the land, if all the people truely repent of their sinnes: If the later bee not the holiest man and of the greatest power to bring fearefull iudgements vpon the whole earth, that euer was borne, *Christ Iesus* excepted: If the sayd *Hacket* (as the Messenger of Gods vengeance, where mercie is refused) doe not bring such great plagues vpon this realme of *England*, the like whereof was neuer scene: In these and in euery of these seuerall cases, hee prayeth the Lord to confound him.

Whereupon he inferreth that hauing thus denounced so many fearefull woes against his owne soule, as would sinke it into the bottomelesse pit of hell, if hee were guiltie in any one of them. Then thereupon with cheerefulnesse hee commerh to declare his message to *England*, accusing it to bee the most rebellious, though it haue bene most blessed of all other nations. Then he affirmeth the citie of *London*, and the courtes of *Iustice* at *Westminster*, and the counterfeit worship of God with crosse and surplesse, to bee worse then *Sodome* and *Gomorre*, or the purple whoore of *Rome*, or else desireth to be confounded. Nay he preferreth *Rome* before

before *London*: because at *Rome* they sinne onely of ignoraunce. Of her *Maiestie* he saith, she is least guiltie of the common finnes, but most abused (of any *Prince* that euer was) by those, whom she hath most aduanced.

Then he speakes to three great Counsellors, C. C. T. daring them to protest for their innocencies against themselues, as deeply as he hath done, and then, if they be not swallowed vp quicke, he is contented to be hanged vp in chaines at *Paules crosse*. Then he threatneth them, that *they three shal be otherwise detected ere long, & all those that are their partakers, when her Maiestie shall reigne and line to see better daies, if God giue her true repentance*. Then he sayth he will leaue all other of the Cleargie (as sufficiently detected already) saue such as pretend to seeke *Reformation*, who (he sayth) are as guiltie (in two pointes) as any of the other. The first point, for not crying out continually against *Archbishops, Bishops, Deanes, Archdeacons*, and others, as wicked vsurpers in the house of God. The second, for not crying out against the wicked *Magistrates* of this land, because they keepe out the *Elderships* out of the Church, and mainteine in their roome, officers and offices of *Antichrist*: Hereupon gathering thus: *howe can God spare this lande any longer, wherein both the Magistrates and messengers of God haue dealt so vnfaithfully in the Lordes seruice?* Adding, that the fearefull iudgements of God shall be sure to fall on the reprobate: being already prepared, and put into the handes of the *Mightie Messenger* of the *Almightie God*, *William Hacket*, to be powred out upon this great Citie of *London*, and upon all places, where repentance followeth not this publication. Then he goeth about to prooue all such Preachers to be *Idolaters*, or consenting to *Idolatrie*, which practise or consent, and suffer others to vse surplesse and crosse, because (he sayeth) they are the markes of *Antichrist*. Preferring herein the *Papistes* afore them, as sinning herein onely of ignorance, seeking also to engreue their faultes in this behalfe, for that they are all *hypocriticall Idolaters*, in that (neuerthelesse) they profess *Reformation*: whereunto he addeth (he sayeth) a secrete: That *this their halting and hypocrisie hath so bardned Gods heart against their requestes, for bringing in the Discipline, that for this vnfaithfull and vsingle walking in their function,* Note. *he hath hitherto denied it. Neither shall any one of them, or all of them together, haue that honour giuen, to bring in Reformation: For (sayeth he) I tell you truly, the Almighty God hath put his cuppe of venge-*

ance into his trustie and faithfull seruants hand, William Hacket, to powre it downe shortly, vpon euery wilfull and obstinate sinner that doeth not repent vpon the notice hereof, or else the Lorde confound me. Lastly, he giueth a charge to haue this Prophecie, together with the incredible, (but most certain) historie of the holiest seruant of God, William Hacket, that euer hath bene, is, or shall be borne, (Christ Iesus onely excepted) with all speede possible, printed and published together, as in substance true (saith he) or else the Lorde confound me. This wise prophecie is thus subscribed: By the most unwoorthie seruant, but yet a faithfull Prophet of the Almighty Iesus, or else his wrath confound me. Henrie Arthington.

Whiles Arthington was about this his taske, Coppinger (as it seemeth) was neither idle nor well occupied, for he was setting down from Hackets owne mouth a long Ragmans role, of Hackets torments, reuelations, and (I knowe not what) called Hackets historie. For by Thursday morning Hacket hauing enlarged the first draught thereof, (which was at first but scribled out by Coppinger) Arthington was to write out againe faire the enlarged copie, that being perfited, it might be annexed vnto the aforesaid Prophecie. All that Thursday was spent by them in consultation and writing: Hacket being also present, and assisting them. But with what ioyfulness amongs them all, it is incredible, if wee may beleue their owne reportes. Yet Arthington was forced (for the haste that was made to haue all in readines against the Friday following, and for the desire he had to yeelde vnto Hacket all satisfaction and contentment, that might be) to sit vp, most of Thursday night, writing out againe of the said historie, so enlarged.

But on Thursday it selfe (being the 15. of Iuly) amongs other their actions: Coppinger and Arthington writte a letter to the aforesaide T. L. which is of this tenor: first at the top of it, thus: viz.

Coppingers
and Arthing-
tons letter
vnto T. Lan-
caster,

If this letter be not endited by the holie Ghost, who hath appeared (in a farre greater measure) to sinnefull wretches, in the ende of the world, euen to vs, whose names are here under written, and to a third person, in calling aboue all former callings whatsoener, (Christ Iesus excepted) the Lorde confound vs two with vengeance from heauen, and carry vs (with all violence) into the bottomlesse pit.

If we haue not taken the name of God in vaine, it standeth you vpon

to reade this letter with feare and trembling, with ioy and gladnes: with feare, that the Lorde should wooe you to doe him seruice: with ioy, that he offereth you honour, if you accept it. We two are messengers from heauen, who haue a good Captaine to guide vs: who haue receaued immediate callings from God, to call the whole world to repentance, and amendment of life: otherwise they are to feare, that Christ Iesus his second comming in glorie, will be to them as a thiefe in the night. If I Edmund Coppinger doe not preferre you before any one man in the land what soeuer, for your wise, holie, louing and religious course, both in the generall calling of a Christian, and in your particular calling, the Lord confound me bodie and soule. The reason why I choose you first, is, because in your house, in your presence, and (vnder God partly by your meanes) I had my first extraordinary calling, though thereof (as of all other things) the whole honour and glorie be the Lordes. And of the same minde is my brother Arthington. In token of our extraordinarie loue to you, we deale as we neither haue, or will doe, with any other: for we command in the name of the Lord, all creatures vpon the earth, and they must obey. But with you we will dispense thus farre, that it shall be your choise to come, and take a newe calling (for a time, wherein we would vse you) or refuse it. So wishing you to commend vs, and your selfe to God, before you answer vs, which we expect in word, and not in writing, &c.

The messenger of mercie to the whole world,
if they accept me.

Edm. Coppinger.

I auouch what soeuer my brother hath written, to be most true: & further I protest, that you are a more holie man then any Preacher in London, or throughout the whole land, or else the Lorde confounde mee. If it please you to come and see me ioyfull, you may hope this is true.

The Prophet of Gods iudgements to the whole
world, where mercie is reiected.

Hen. Arthington.

That the perfite and enlarged historie of Hacket be briefly gathered into a summarie, & here set downe, it will not (I thinke) be amisse, for such as shalbe desirous to know, what mysteries may be therein contained, which drewe these two (amongst other matters) into such an extraordinarie admiration, and opinion of him.

First

A summe of
Hackets histo-
rie.

First therefore, there is declared whom *Hacket* serued, then how he got the execution of the Baillywike of *Oundel*, being void: how vpon complaint of the wiues there, that their husbands spent their thrift in Alehouses on the *Sabaoth* daies, he (by a Iustice of Peace not farre off) did cause al the playing tables that could be come by, to be burnt. Also the light and entising behauour of some women towards him, & his familiarity with them, wherby his wife became ielous of him, so that he was forced (for her satisfaction) to cleare himselfe by his oath. The sundry baites laide by meanes of some of his fellowes (that enuied him for the credit he had with those who he serued) to entrap him with women. His attempting them in dishonest manner, but with purpose onely (as he there pretendeth) to learne of them the practises against him. The like snares laide for him by some of better place & credit, then the former: Of his affliction in minde that he endured, because he so behaued himselfe towards women, & yet could not learne out by them, the plot laid against him. Of his going into *Hampshire* to haue bene placed there: Howe he was in a place there (for the most part of 20. daies) beat with a bastonado, and into what pitifull state of body he was thereby brought: That this was done, partly for his auoutching that *Christ* was head of the Church against the *Pope*, and for saying, that as certaine earthen pots were there by him broken, so should all *Papistes* be broken in hell, and confounded, so many as rose vp against him in earth: how he was forced to vse the Deputie-Lieutenant of *Hampshire* his aide, to be safely conueied out of that Countrey, least he shoulde bee murdered by his enemies: that hee came thence to one *M. Paul Wentworthes* house, where he remained a moneth, and was vsed most Christianly, and where he was most deeply exercised in the spirite: Howe as he passed by the way out of *Hampshire*, he told a Gentleman in company (that was priue to his enemies complots) of a great practise intended against him, and to be done in a chamber, by certaine persons, whome he then named aforehand: insomuch as the saide Gentleman (being made priue to such purpose, and knowing that he saide true) affirmed, surely he could coniure, or else it had not bene possible to tell such things as he did: where in deed (he saith) the Lord, in the midst of his former afflictions, reuealed it vnto him, and further shewed him a place which he had appointed for him, and howe he would bring all his enemies practises to confusion: How in performance of

of that which was so revealed, he was afterward in a certaine place in *Hartfordshire* bound, first in a chamber, and then chained in a fincke hole of a seller, and most grieuouly many waies afflicted there, for 20. daies together: That in the greatest extremitie thereof (which was greater then he could expresse) a *Crosse* came vpon his breast as he lay, & alwaies when his torments were at the greatest, the Lord vnloosed his feete and handes from his fetters, and bands: neuerthelesse he lay stil til his tormentors came, and bound him againe: how the Lord then appeared to him, and assured him, that he would establish the Gospel by him, and shewed him all the whoredome of *Rome*, in the person of a great personage (since deceased) as it were in candle light, with a great Bell full of iniquitie: That during that time, the Lorde shewed him a terrible famine which he would bring vpon a lande, but whether this lande or not, was not declared: That *Christ* then shewed him his wisdom and prouidence, in gouerning the Seas, & all other waters in their courses: and further shewed him the man that should sitte on *Christs* right hand, to iudge both the quicke and the dead, whose name he wel knoweth: That then he made his petition vnto the Lord, who answered him by a voice, thus, *what he would, how he would, & when he would*: Howe (by the extremitie of his torments) his eies were fallen downe, and his tongue thrust out of his head, so as he could not pull it in againe one Barleycornes breadth: but the Lorde in that extremitie shewed him, that hee would keepe his bodie from bursting, and that one haire of his head shoulde not perish: That being loosed (by his wiues importunitie) soone after, in a verie raynie daye, hee, his wife, one *Richard Dickens*, and one *Palmer*, ridde altogether thence, towarde *Oundell*, thirtie myles that daye: and albeit it rayned all the daye verie sore (so that great floods came vpon it) yet neuer one of them had any droppe thereof fall vpon their clothes: That being at *Oundell*, and foreseeing he shoulde bee exercised againe, he prayed his wife, that no man might come at him, for hee woulde keepe his chamber: and then the Lorde appeared vnto him, and shewed him, in what danger the lande was, by reason of forreine enemies at the Sea: and commaunded him to goe rounde about the Towne, and that shoulde be a defence to the land round about: That after this, he kept himselfe in his Barne about eight daies, reasoning with the Lorde, touching *Predestination* and *Reprobation*, continually begging of him,

that hee would saue all those, that fought ignorantly against the truth, or otherwise sinned through want of knowledge: How (after this,) betaking himselfe to his chamber againe, the Lord (he saith) forced him to cry out against two great subiects and *Counsellors* in this lande: That he was againe bounde and tormented there other twentie dayes, in eight whereof, he neither did eate nor drinke, and was continually watched, for that they knew, the Lord would come and loose him, if they left him: That during this time Witches vsed their sorcerie stongly vpon him: That the Lorde then tolde him that he would harden his owne heart against *Hackets* tormētors: How then also 4. or 5. Angels night by night stood by him, and watched ouer him, like vnto doves, and one night spirits innumerable: and that a white hande came from the Almighty, and tooke him by the hande, whereby all venome, poison, vncleannes, and corruption departed from him for a time: whereupon, the Lorde shewed him three heauens together, & all the dwelling places contriued in one of them, but the highest heauen was shewed to be without ende, which glorie he was not able to behold, but was made able to looke vpon the blood of the Saintes, which was made round like a waxe cake, in very great breadth, but the glorie which therewith appeared, he could not looke vpon, so that he was forced to turne his face vpon the pillowe: Howe the Lord also shewed him the murthering of the wicked, euen like the slaying of swine, the father murthering the sonne, and the mother the daughter, and euery one another, all the day long, and no man tooke pitie vpon them: That there was then reuealed vnto him, a very strange fire from heauen, the length whereof he did see consuming all things from the heauen to hell mouth, but he did not see the breadth thereof: Also that he then did see the breadth of the tormenting place of the damned, and what was therein, but neither the bottome, nor length of the place: That he also supposed, he sawe his libertie begged, by two honourable personages: Notwithstanding which deliuerance (that he dreamed of) he telleth that he was carried afterward to *North-hampton* gaole, where he remained 17. weekes, as afore is remembred. Furthermore there is declared, that in his torments the Lorde shewed him, howe he would confound all his aduersaries that were guiltie in any practise against him, and that one thing which they went about, they should neuer bring to passe: for he let him see, that they were all at
drunken

drunken men and fooles without wit: That in the end they should throw all their bookes away, and be at a great confusion, one with another: That afterward (viz. about the beginning of *Easter* terme last) the Lorde brought him to *London*, and howe he was made acquainted with *Coppinger* at that time, as hath bene afore declared: Howe after his departing out of the Citie from *Coppinger*, he could not but remember him in his praier: desiring the Lord to reueale himselfe *extraordinarily* to him, so that he might be encouraged to goe forward in the action: whereupon (as the saide *Coppinger* affirmed) he had two *extraordinaie* seales in very short space after *Hackets* departure, and was wonderfully strengthened, to proceede in the cause. Then is tolde howe the Lorde commanded him to goe from one place to another in and about the Citie, for two daies space: and howe he was commanded to raile against the saide two great *Counsellors*, in diuerse places where he came: Howe being (in that time) commanded to see the Lyons in the Tower, he tooke the fiercest of them by the head, and had none harme: Then is tolde, what Preachers in the Citie he heard, and that going to heare one, he sawe a surplesse lie in the Church, whereupon he would not stay there: That he went to certaine Preachers in prison, to command them to deale faithfully in the Lordes busines: And how he was commanded by God to deface the Armes of *England* in *Kaies* house in *Knight-Rider* streete. Lastly, it is saide, that God hath appointed two others to deale for, and with *Hacket*, whome it will stand vpon to deale faithfully for the Lorde, for they knowe what *Hacket* is, and what shall followe, if their counsels and directions be not followed.

Nowe if any shall meruaile, howe such an absurd and ridiculous lying legend, should seduce men of any consideration, so earnest for a supposed *Reformation*, and so exercised in praying and fasting: let him remember, not onely the effectuall, but the efficacie it selfe of Illusion, and the spirite of slumber, falling (by Gods secrete, yet alwaies iust iudgement) vpon the children of disobedience, such as be wise in their owne conceites, and not wise with sobrietie: that they might beleue lyes, because they haue not beleued the truth: and that they might aske and not obaine, because they aske not as they ought.

After *Arthington* (on *Thursday* morning) had ended his afore-said Treatise of prophesie (being the very day before their rising)

Coppinger tolde him, that God (the night before) had enlightned him the said *Coppinger*, who they all three were, saying, that *Arthington* had vnawares prophesied truely: for he was the greatest *Prophet of Gods iudgements* against the whole world, that euer was, but that they both were greater then he: for *Coppinger* himselfe was (he said) the greatest that euer was, and last *Prophet of mercie*: and that he must describe the newe and holie *Ierusalem*, with the seuerall places of ioy, that the elect should enioy after this life, and that they the said *Coppinger* and *Arthington*, were ordained to separate the Lambes from the Goates, before the Lord *Iesus* at the last day. Whereat (it is saide) they were both astonished, considering their owne vnwoorthines and vnfitnes, crying out against themselves and their sinnes: yet submitting themselves to the direction of Gods spirite, which they were assured, should sufficiently furnish them to doe him that seruice, which himselfe did command. Then *Coppinger* proceeded to tell further, that *Hacket* was greater then either of them, and that they two must obey him, in whatsoeuer he commanded, but told not then, what nor howe great he was, other then king of *Europe*: which title was (afore this time) concluded of amongs them. Hereupon (according to *Coppingers* commandement) *Arthington* offered to honour *Hacket* with his title of the king of *Europe*, and to demeane himselfe toward him accordingly. But *Hacket* himselfe herein dispensed with him, vntill y time should come, that he was to honour him before others, bidding him with all to be of good cheere: for (saith he) *I serue a good Captaine, who makes so deare account of me, that all the diuels in hel, nor men in earth, cannot take my life from me*. Then *Coppinger* (for confirmation of the like vnto them two also) saide, that *Arthington* and himselfe were possessed, not onely with propheticall, but also with *Angelicall* spirits, which *Arthington* taking to be true (by a great burning that he felt in himselfe after that time) did therupon fanfie to himselfe, that no power in earth nor hell, could hurt either of them, because they had the spirite of *Angels*, and they were subiect to no power, but to God alone: And that (God being the master of the whole worke) all things should prosper with them, they onely seeking his glory, which (he saith) he vowed with himselfe, & to deale thoroughly in his office, to rebuke the world of sinne, & to denounce iudgements against whomsoeuer the spirit should moue him, without feare or fauour of men, or of diuels in hel: which spirit (he saith) then moued

ued him (according to his hatred afore conceiued against the, and his opinion that they were traitors against the *Queenes Maiestie*) to vtter and to declare his detestation he had against the aforesayd three woorthie *Counsellors*, being by their places the greatest subjects in the land. But herein may be said with the Poet: *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes? Verrem de furto?* who can with any patience indure such seditious companions as these, to appeach others of treason? but especially, so loiall, honourable, and woorthie Counsellors, as they three are knowen to the world to be.

By the way we may note the subtill managing and cariage of this action by *Hacket* and *Coppinger* in this one principall point, which *Arthington* himselfe also now obserueth: *videlicet*, in that they opened not at any time *Hackets* chiefe pretended office vnto *Arthington*: *videlicet*, to represent and to participate with *Iesus Christes* office (of seuering with his fanne the good from the bad) vntill the very time they were to goe into the streetes to doe the message that *Hacket* enioyned them. For hereby they preuented a doubt of driuing *Arthington* backe, who seemed a man so seruiceable for their purpose, as that hee was woorthie to bee still retained by them: and the rather, for that hee had not yet finished the writing vp of *Hackets historie* (that was to bee annexed to the *Prophecie*) vntill late that *Thursday* night which was afore their rising, for they might haue feared (if leisure had serued him to haue considered of it, and examined it at full how this could be) least it might haue made him at least to stagger, and be doubtfull of it.

Besides *Hacket* kept (as *Arthington* now gathereth) that honour wholly to himselfe to proclaime it to them both together, as it were by a voyce fro heauen, at that very instant whe they should receiue their charge of him: and thereby haue no time to reason against it, being straight way to go forward as obedient persons to him in all things.

Thus that *Thursday* passed on. On *Friday* morning, *Coppinger* sent his man *Emerson* (by fife of the clocke in the morning) vnto *Arthingtons* lodging, but his wife would not then awake him: so he sent for him againe at fixe, and they two then went together vnto *Coppinger*. Then *Coppinger* and *Arthington* determined (that *Friday* morning beyng the 16. day of *Julie* last) betwixt fixe and seuen of the clocke in the forenoone, to go vnto a certaine Gentle-

mans house about the Citie, of good behauiour, and they forsooth to honour him, to be chiefe Gouvernour vnder her *Maiestie*, which they also did that Morning, and promised vnto him accordingly that he should so be. Leauing also with him both the sayd *Prophe-sie* and *Hackets historie* to peruse, but the good gentleman was vn-willing to deale either with them or their papers any way. They staid not there aboue halfe an houre. From thence they came betwixt 8. and 9. of the clocke in the morning vnto *Wiggintons* chamber (being prisoner in the *Counter in Woodstreete*) with whom ha-ving much speech and conference (part whereof is touched be-fore) among other things, they signified vnto him, (as *Arthington* confesseth) *that they were prouoked to pronounce him the holiest mini-ster of all others, for dealing so plainly and resolutely in Gods causes a-boue all ministers, which God would manifest one day to his comfort,*

Wigginton at his examination confesseth such conference by him at that time to haue bene had with them, and (as hee was en-joined by those who examined him) hath reported it by writing somewhat largely. He therein also setteth down a conference had by him about the same matters with *Hacket* himselfe, comming to him thither alone (as he saith) the selfe same *Friday* morning, some while after the other two were departed from him.

It may be gathered by his owne narration, that betwixt the time of *Coppinger* and *Arthingtons* talke with him, *Wigginton* had set downe article-wise, and distincted with number the seuerall heads of their speeches had with him. And after he also enquired and set downe in writing *Hackets* opinion likewise, vnto euery of the sayd articles seuerally. And albeit it need not bee questioned, but that both for circumstance and matter he would set it downe, the least that might bee either to his owne, or any his complices disaduan-tage, yet may it serue for the fuller vnderstanding of the whole acti-on, and for necessarie obseruation besides, to touch some chiefe points of those conferences, though it be but as himselfe telleth the.

The principall points of *Wiggintons* owne re-port touching conference and speeches had by him to and fro with *Coppinger* and *Arthington*, and afterward with *Hac-ket*, the 16. day of *July* in the morning, 1591.

He saith, that *Coppinger* and *Arthington* came vnto him about 8. or 9. of the clock, of the 16. day of *July* in the morning full of courage and

comfort, saying unto him thus: We are come to you now to bring you certaine newes of great comfort, which is this, viz. That wee have seene Iesus Christ this day in linely and extraordinarie shape or fashion presented unto vs, not in his body (for so he sitteth at the right hand of God in heauen, untill the last iudgement) but in his effectuall or principall spirite, whereby he dwelleth in William Hacket, more then in any creature vpon the earth.

When Hacket came not long after their departure that morning vnto him, Wigginton saith, that hee examined him about the whole speeches of Coppinger & Arthington uttered before vnto him: whereunto Hacket answered first generally thus: That hee approoued them no further then he saw they had warrant for their doings, but particularly to this first Article thus, viz.

Hackets answer thereof vnto Wigginton.

To the first that hee knew not of that their vision, but he accounted himselfe to be a chiefe messenger of God, in such sort as followeth.

Copping. and Arth. speeches to Wigginton.

That the sayd William Hacket is the very same angell forespoken of by the Scriptures, who should come before the last iudgement of Christ with a fanne or soepehooke in his hand, to seperate the goates from the sheepe.

Hackets answer.

To the second, that he was the onely principall man sent of God to decide the controuersies of the Gospell of Christ in the world, or in England, or in Europe: into which controuersies some bad persons (being enemies to him and to the Gospell in England, and some of them being great personages) had drawen him to enter by their cruell, vniust, and extraordinarie practises and trecheries, or sorceries used against him: and that by him as by a principall angell of God (with his fanne in his hand) God would now separate the sheepe from the goates: and that God would establish the Gospell by him generally, either by his death, or by his life: but (quoth he as it were correcting himselfe) by my life it must be.

Coppinger and Arth. speeches.

That Hacket is a man dearer or nearer vnto God in some respects, then Moses or Iohn the diuine, who wrote the Revelation, because

because he must (as it were) bring an accomplishment unto their prophecies, and hath a more excellent spirit or worke to do, then they in some respects.

Hackets answer.

To the third, that God would do a greater worke by him the said William Hacket, then ever he did by any of all the Prophets, for the establishment of his gospel, to the confusion of Satan and Antichrist.

Copping, and Arth. speeches.

- 4 That the sayd Hacket had laied two severall charges in the name of Christ upon them two, which they must needs performe or execute: the one upon Arthington of prophesie, concerning the end of the world: the other upon Coppinger of painting out the good and bad in the world, or in these partes of the world: and one of them had in purpose or charge, to read over the whole Bible, for prooffe of their office and businesse.

Hackets answer.

To the fourth, that God had sent Arthington to bee the sayd Hacket his writer or pen, and the sayd Coppinger to be the expounder of his mind, or deliverer of his message to the old magistrates (which were almost gone) and to the new, and to the world.

Coppinger and Arth. speeches.

- 5 That they had some sight of the glory of the world to come, where they found that the Queene was highly in Gods favour, because she had cut of much of Antichrists force or traine: but, &c.

- 6 That M. Cartwright had done more against Antichrist, then any in the world before him, since the Apostles time: and that Wigginton was comparable unto him, and M. Lancaster (meaning a schoolemaster in Shoe-lane) was above them both, in the state of heavenly glory, because he had kept himselfe undefiled from the common corruptions of these times, and had a most single heart to God.

Mutuum mul-
li scabunt.

Hackets answer.

To the fift and sixt, that men should shortly turne their speares into mattocks for the making of a true or better Reformation, or else a great plague, as it were fire from heauen should fall upon them for their rebellion against God: and that the Queene was undone, and all wee Preachers should bee damned, if wee fall not to Reformation speedie.

And

And that hee knewe not of any such comparisons or degrees to bee in the seate of glorie, but sure he was, although every man should bee rewarded according to his works, yet he that would be highest should be lowest there, where all be as one in Christ.

7 The seuenth Article by them then vttered, is nothing but a lewde and slanderous railing, against two of the sayd Countellers, whereunto *Wigginton* shapeth none answere in *Hackets* behalfe, belike allowing it: and therefore did not aske *Hacket* of it, because himselfe made no doubt of the trueth thereof, as it seemeth.

Coppingers and Arthingtons speeches.

8 That many of the Preachers and people in England professing Religion, were blinde and carelesse in many things, yet the seruants of God, to bee saued upon repentance, and that some fewe which were more forward then others, should haue more honour or higher places in heauen then they.

Hackets answere.

To the eight: that it was true, so neere as *Wigginton* coulde call to remembrance.

Coppingers and Arthingtons speeches.

9 That these things they would confirme vnto him by Gods Spirit out of his word: In the meane while, they both vsed vehement protestations, that it was most true which they spake, and that their doctrine was or should be fetched out of the third heauen: and they would prooue themselves and *William Hacket*, to bee extraordinarily called and sent of God as aforesayde: and they exhorted him to bee constant in the trueth. *Arthington* also pronounced *Wigginton* to bee highly in Gods fauour, and assured him, that Gods Spirit should be doubled vpon him.

Hackets answere.

To the ninth he auoucheth the full effect thereof, and he also pronounced *Wigginton* to bee highly in Gods fauour: and further tolde (after a bolde and a resolute maner) that he had appoynted him and some fewe others, to be assistants to *Coppinger* and *Arthington* in their foresayde offices, &c.

Besides the premisses, *Wigginton* hath set downe (as pleased him

best) a dialogue had with Coppinger & Arthington at that time not worth the inserting here: yet this may be observed in it, that they then sayd they would prove the things aforesayd, by Gods Spirit (which was above his word) and by his word also. Secondly, by Wigginton his owne report it appeareth, that they answered vnto his speeches, very temperately, directly, and pertinently. Thirdly it appeareth also therein, that he did not contradict any of their sayings, nor rebuke them, nor founde fault with the absurditie and blasphemie of their opinions, and vnductifulnesse of their speeches, or danger of their purposes, but onely warned them to be wary &c. lest they might be illuded of the Deuill: so leauing it at that time doubtfull, whether hee allowed them to be such extraordinarie men or no.

Scilicet.

In his sayde Narration hee further sheweth, that hee asking Hacket, when he sawe the two Gentlemen? Hacket answered, they had bene with him that Morning whiles he lay in his bed, and had suddenly departed from him with one crie, saying, Christ is come, Christ is come whereat he said he marueiled, not knowing what was their meaning in the matter: adding further, that he had oft warned Coppinger to take heede of conceiuing too much liking of his owne spirituall gifts, whom he perceiued to be rauished with an exceeding lone, and extraordinarie care for the safetie of his Mistresse, meaning the Queenes Maiestie, who (quoth Hacket) is vndone (and here is put an &c.) For you and all other Preachers shall be damned, vlesse shee for her part, and you for your partes, doe speedily fall to Reformation. Wigginton also saith further, that Hacket either at that time, or not long before, did exhort him to deale faithfully in the Lordes businesse, and that hee had heard Hacket pray sometimes before, in strange tearmes, as these and such like, viz. Father, I knowe thou lovest me as well as thou lovest thine owne selfe. Thus when Hacket had answered Wiggintons demaunds touching Coppingers and Arthingtons speeches (as is afore set downe) hee sayde hee woulde depart home into the Countrey, yet hee woulde leaue worde behinde, for his aduersaries to knowe in what place they should find him, if they were disposed to cal for him. And withal made great shew (after his former woted maner) as though he neither feared Magistrate, nor cared for any punishment, nor doubted any danger to ensue upon him, for any thing he had done or sayd, or should goe about.

Nowe touching some things markable in this Narration of Wiggintons. First, if Arthington say true in his confessions: that Hacket published not himselfe to haue that office of Christ or his principall

principall spirit, till the very moment that they were to go into the Citie to proclayme (as they did) and if they went not vnto *Hacket* that day till they had first beene with *Wigginton*, which seemeth to be true: then could it not bee, that *Wigginton* heard that of them two at that time, which hee reporteth them to haue spoken in the first, second, third, & fourth article: and therefore he was made acquainted with it, before that time. Secondly, that, which he maketh *Hacket* to fumble about somewhat doubtfully in answeere to the fourth article (touching the olde Magistrates that were gone, and of newe) doth argue, that *Wigginton* was also made priue to the intent of displacing all the olde Counsellors, and placing of newe, as was plotted by the conspirators. Thirdly, their lewde and malepart imputation of her *Maiesties* Honour to bee blemished, and affirming shee was vndone, though it had bene no more, were matters of that qualitie, that no duetifull or well aduised subiect woulde haue either concealed, or so lightly passed ouer as hee did. Fourthly, it is probable, that *Hacket* meant rather to haue mattocks turned into speares then contrariwise: for I see no peaceable meanes that was thought on by them. Fifthly, wee may obserue that here is a Reformation moued, which vpon paine of damnation must bee vndertaken, and that with all speede, euen *Nowe*, (they say) wherein others beside the *Queene* haue their partes to perfourme in erecting off it: some whereof haue also *extraordinarie* giftes and callings to runne in that course of Reforming, and *Wigginton* (being yet a prisoner, but belike put in hope of speedie deliuerance by their meanes) is appoynted a principall assistant to them: yea, and is made priue vnto some matter, for which *Hacket* thought he was not vnlike to be afterwarde sought for, and which hee knewe might bee dangerous vnto him, had hee bene such a man, as any Magistrate, punishment or danger might haue dismayed, and yet not sought to bee reuealed by *Wigginton* vnto any Magistrate, till vpon his examination it was founde out. Lastly, I obserue the *Coggerie* of the Reporter, or else the lewde lying and contradiction to himselfe of that wretched seducer *Hacket*. For in his answeere to the first and sixt articles hee knowes no degrees of glorie in heauen, and yet in his answeere to the eight, hee assigneth more honour and higher places in heauen vnto some fewe that *are the most forward*, then he doth vnto others.

But let vs goe on with the Narration of the principall action interrupted by occasion of the conferences had with *Wigginton*, and of his report of them.

Blasphemie.

From *Wiggintons* lodging the sayde *Coppinger* and *Arthington* came directly to *Hackets* chamber in *Walkers* house at *Broken Wharfe*, and there found the beast in bed after eight of the clocke: where being enflamed (they say) with zeale out of all measure, *Coppinger* began to pray at the beds feete, and *Arthington* ioyned with him: wherein they stoode much vpon their owne vnworthinesse &c. but yet offered their obedience to doe as the Lord should direct them by his Spirit, hauing already done so much as was enioyned them. Whereupon *Hacket* came out of his bed, and prayed with them in his shirt twise, that the spirit might direct them, and they likewise obey the same in all things, to the glorie of God onely. After *Hackets* latter prayer, *Coppinger* offered to goe on in his prayer, but the Deuillish spirite mooued *Arthington* to interrupt him, and to charge him in the Name of the Lord *Iesus* to arise and annoynt the king, with the holy Ghost, Whereupon *Coppinger* streightway rose vp, and three times kissed the boordes vnder his feete, rising vp after euery time, and making great reuerence with bowed knee: and after the third time he came towards *Hacket* as he lay in his bed, who put out his hand, and tooke *Coppinger* by the hand, and sayde, *You shall not neede to annoynt mee, for I haue bene already annoynted in heauen, by the holy Ghost himselfe.* Then *Coppinger* asked him, what his pleasure was to be done. *Goe your way both* (said he as *Arthington* reports) *and tell them in the Citie, that Christ Iesus is come with his Fanne in his hand to iudge the earth. And if any man aske you where he is, tell thē he lies at Walkers house by Broken Wharfe: & if they will not beleue it, let them come & kill me, if they can: for as truly as Christ Iesus is in Heauen, so truly is he come to iudge the world.* Then *Coppinger* saide it shoulde be done forthwith: and thereupon went forward, and *Arthington* followed so readily the sayde *Prophet of Mercie*, that hee had no leasure to take his gloues with him, and yet *Arthington* could get downe the stayres, *Coppinger* had begunne (in the house below) to proclaime newes from heauen, of exceeding great mercie: that *Christ Iesus* was come &c. as aboue is sayde, with whome *Arthington* also cryed the same wordes aloud, following him along the streetes from thence by *Watling streete* and *Olde Change*, towards *Cheapside*, they both adding

adding beyond their Commission these wordes, *Repent England, Repent.* But surely either their Commission was deliuered them (at one time or other) more largely then the one of them now reporteth: or else they went beyond and exceeded it in many other materiall poynts besides this. For after they both had thus come (with mightie concourse of the common multitude as to such a noueltie of hearing two new prophets in these dayes arisen was likely) with an vniforme crye into *Chepeside* neere vnto the crosse: and there finding the throng and preasse of people to encrease about them, in such sort as that they could not well passe further, nor bee coueniently heard of them all, as they desired; therefore they got them vp into an emptie cart which stode there, and out of that choise pulpit (for such a purpose) made their lewde and trayterous preaching vnto the people: wherein they stode not onely vpon the wordes of their former crye, but (so neere as I could learne from so common an Auditorie, and in so confused an action) they reading something out of a paper, went more particularly ouer the office and calling of *Hacket*: how he represented *Christ*, by partaking a part of his glorified body: by his principall spirit, and by the office of seuering the good from the bad with his fanne in his hande, and of establishing the Gospell in *Europe* (which as it seemeth they tooke to be all the world, or else supposed, that all *Europe* did professe *Christianitie*) and of bringing in that *Discipline* which they so often bable of, and which they meane by the terme of *Reformation and the holy cause*: that he was now come, and all these things were presently to be performed by him, telling also the people, where they saw him, where he lay and remained: that they were two *Prophets*, the one of *Mercy*, the other of *Iudgement*, sent and extraordinarily called by God to assist him in this great worke, and were witnesses of these things: confirming the same vpon their owne saluation, and wishing themselues confounded and damned for euer, if these things they spoke, were not true. And thereupon, the one of them pronounced *Mercy*, great comfort, and vnspeakeable ioyes to all that should repent presently, be obedient, and embrace this acceptable message and opportunitie offered: and the other denounced terrible *Iudgements*, if they repented not, which should euen presently (also) fall vpon them, and especially vpon that Citie of *London*; affirming that all that beleued them not, were condemned body and soule. This iudgement against *London* (as *Arabing-*

on the pretended *Prophet of Iudgement*, sayth hee gathered out of *Hackets historie* was, that men should (there) kill and massacre one another (as Butchers doe kill swyne) all the day long, and no man shoulde take compassion of them. There was then and there further deliuered by them, or by the one of them, that *Hacket* was King of *Europe*, and so ought to be obeyed and taken: and that all Kings must holde of him, and that the *Queenes Maiestie* had forfeited her Crowne, and was worthie to be depriued. Which most trayterous poynt (amongst others) *Hacket* enioyned them to publish, as in the one of his Inditements is contayned. Lastly, in very vnmanerly and sawcy tearmes they prayed to God, to confound two great Lordes of her Maiesties Counsell; for these two (together with a certayne Knight) they then and there openly and most lewdely accused in generall tearmes of treason. This outrage was done the sixeteenth day of *Iuly* aforesayde, about ten of the clocke or something after, in the afore-noone.

By which their proclamation, beeing layde together with their former conferences, Letters, and purposes against the *Queene* and *Counsell*, and for aduancing of *Hacket*, and for altering the State, with the very time (when so many souldiers were about the Citie) it is euident to any, who hath but halfe an eye to see with, that they intended and hoped to moue tumult and sedition: that by many handes of the common multitude (which they bragge of, saying, they are already inflamed with zeale) they might haue brought all their purposes at length to a sure and speedie conclusion, which designement, for their pretended *Reformation*, this sorte of people doe greatly lament, so long to haue bene frustrated, after so many other seuerall kinde of meanes, in vayne attempted by them. But God (who stayeth the raging of the waters, and the madnesse of his people) did frustrate them herein of their purpose and expectation: his Name be alwayes praysed therefore.

And whereas they had purposed to haue gone with the like crye and proclamation through other the chiefe partes of the Citie, the preasse (not of Officers to take them, but of common people to gaze and woonder at them) was so great, as that they were forced to goe into a Tauerne in *Cheapside*, at the signe of the *Mermayde*: the rather, because a Gentleman in a white doublet, beeing of his acquaintance, plucked at *Coppinger* whiles hee was in the Carte, and rebuked him for his strange and lewde demeanour

meanour and speeches.

Whereupon (though *Arthington* were offended with the sayde Gentleman for touching a Prophet of God in so rough a sorte as hee sayde) yet they were both contented to steppe aside into the sayde Tauerne with him: where when they had remayned a space, *Coppinger* was perswaded by one of the aforesayde *Lawsons* men, that stayed there at that time (for auoyding the wondering and preasse of the people) to steppe ouer into *Wood-streete*, and from thence by backe Lanes to his sisters house neere vnto *Powleswharfe*, where hee lodged. But whiles they two were going together, *Coppinger* was very carefull to know, whether *Arthington* followed them or not: insomuch as hee woulde not bee satisfied, till the sayde apprentice went backe againe for him. At whose comming backe, hee found *Arthington* still publishing his foresayde messages to the people, and telling them of *Hacket* and of his Office, with whome *Arthington* was content also at last to goe by the same streetes that *Coppinger* had gone, but yet crying (as hee did afore) *Repent Englande, Repent &c.* When in this sorte they two were come together to *Coppingers* lodging, they founde the gates shutte against them: whereupon the sayde apprentice would haue had *Arthington* to haue gone to his owne lodging, but he would needes goe to *Walkers* house at *Brokenwharfe*, where not long before he left *Hacket*. All the way that *Arthington* went, hee was followed by a great multitude of lads and young persons of the meaner sort: But at his comming to *Walkers* house, *Hacket* was not yet returned out of the citie, from *Wigginton*.

After that *Arthington* was entred the house, he was there stayed by one *Edward Iones* an honest citizen: and when *Hacket* (not long after) came in, *Arthington* said, There cometh the king of the earth. But *Hacket* willed him to keepe silence, telling him he was too outrageous: whereupon hee straightway (in very duetifull manner) obeyed: for he called *Hacket* his Captayne, and sayde, That hee would doe whatsoeuer he commaunded him to doe.

When the saide *Iones* (in searching about *Arthington*) found a writing in his sleeue, *Arthington* sayde, That fell out as hee would haue it, for now it would be seene: for he had made (he said) an Epistle to the *Queene*, and shee woulde not receiue it, and therefore shee was (hee sayde) no longer *Queene*, but was deprived

depryued of her Crowne, *Hacket* saying nothing thereunto.

There was found also in *Hacket's* Chamber, hidden at the beds feete, many writings: and *Walker* (the owner of the house) brought also vnto the said *Jones* other writings of theirs, out of a stable.

And when *Master Heiney* parson of the Church of *Saint Mary-Somersets* an honest and learned Preacher, looked on one of the sayd papers, *Hacket* reproving him said, that it appertayned not vnto him, but vnto the Magistrates to looke on them.

Arthington (in speeches with the sayd *Heyney*) sayd amongs other things, that the Iudgements of God ouer that Citie were very great, and that the time was now come, that God would reforme his Church vniuersally, and roote out all Idolatrous priestes, and that the Ministers of that Citie were no better: affirming him selfe to be a *Prophet* sent purposely from God, to denounce his Iudgements, and that *Coppinger* was a greater Prophet then hee: that *Cartwright* was a great learned man, and a Saint of God: but *Wigginton* was lesse learned then he, yet farre before him in dignitie for his zeale, alwayes concluding his speeches with these wordes of imprecation against himselfe, viz. *else God confound me.*

When the sayd Preacher demaunded of *Hacket* why he had seduced *Arthington* to bring him into such blasphemies, his answere was, that abundance of zeale did cause him to exceede in that sort. Then he asked *Hacket*, how he liked that *Arthington* ascribed vnto him an Office peculiar to *Christ*? To which hee would not directly answere, but sayd, that God had a great worke to bring to passe by himselfe in this lande, affirming that himselfe also was a *Prophet*, and had endited that *prophecie* (which *Arthington* writ) to be sent to the *Queene* or *Counsell*, and that hee prayed to God to direct *Arthingtons* penne therein.

This strange accident being quickly blowen through the citie, all was in a buzze, and in a kinde of astonishment, what to thinke of the matter: and beeing speedily brought to her *Maiesties* cares, (then lying but at *Greenewich*) two of her honourable Counsell were presently dispatched vnto *London*, to take further notice of the whole matter. About one of the clocke in the afternoone, *Coppinger* was sent for, whiles *Hacket* and *Arthington* were brought before those honourable Counsellors and others at the *L. Maiors* to be examined: but (as is informed) they would not shew any token of duetic or reuerence vnto those honourable persons, not so much as
by

by putting off their hattes vnto them. Then their hattes were plucked off by others, and they were tolde their dueties, and were asked whether they did not know before whome they stoode? To which they answered, that they knew them right well: neuerthelesse they would yeelde them no duetic nor reuerence, insomuch as themselves (they sayde) were greater persons, then those before whom they were conuented, yet they seemed well content to stande bare-headed, so their hattes were taken off by force, and not put off by their owne willes. This course of intolent behauiour towards all that examined them, both *Hacket* and *Arbington* helde on, at sundry other their examinations. Neuerthelesse, *Arbington* that was so scrupulous to yeelde any reuerence to the *Queenes Counsell*, and *Officers*, at one time when hee sawe *Hacket*, presently fell downe groueling vpon his face on the ground and honoured him, according to the Conuention among them mentioned before. And albeit both these continued still resolute in their former fancies conceiued of their *extraordinarie* callings and Offices, and sought most absurdly to defende it by Scripture, (but chiefly by most terrible imprecations vnto them selues, praying to bee confounded and damned if they sayde not true:) yet to all questions that were asked of them, they answered (though most confidently) yet pertinently, and directly to purpose, saying, that *Hacket* vled the matter somewhat more craftily, when any question of especial danger was propounded vnto him. For then would he by cunning euasions, by cauels, and by frustratorie kindes of answeres goe about to put off such interrogatories, seeming when hee was pressed somewhat hard, to bee wearie of his part and person put on, if hee could haue then tolde how to haue shaken it off, and bene ridde of it againe, with any honestie.

Coppinger (soone after his first examination) finding the euent of things not to answere their expectations, seeing also the matter somewhat warmly taken (as there was good cause) and thereby gathering the danger which hee and his complices stoode in, and perceiuing also (by the questions asked) the intercepting of their writings and Letters, whereby their dealings were at full discovered and brought to light; begaune, either by his owne voluntarie choise (as some perhappes not vnprobably haue imagined) or through anxietie (in deede) of minde, growing foorth of the badnesse of the cause, to behaue himselfe as a man distracted of his

wits. Inſomuch as comming at one time to be examined, & finding *Hacket* there, at his ſight he preſently roared out, in a very ſtrange and horrible kinde of voyce: which *Hacket* willing to turne to the beſt, ſtraightway ſaid, It was no marueile, though *Coppinger* did now ſo behaue himſelfe, for that he had giuen him ouer already vnto Sathan.

By peruſall of their writings and Letters, and by their examinations, all the plots of treason and lewdneſſe (afore mentioned) fell out very euidently, and more at full againſt them.

Touching the *Queenes* armes defaced at *Kayes* houſe, *Hacket* did confeſſe, at the times of his examination, that hee did it, none other beeing preſent, and that hee was moued thereunto inwardly by the ſpirit, to take away her whole power of her authoritie, and that hee would haue done worſe, had it not bene for diſquieting his hoſteſſe where he lay, becauſe when ſhee found it, ſhe was very angrie therewith: for he was not ſorie, neither is ſorie (as hee then ſaide) for doing the acte, becauſe hee was commaunded by God to doe it, and durſt doe none otherwiſe. Hee confeſſed alſo, that he was likewiſe moued to put out the Lyons and the Dragons eyes in the armes: but being aſked, why he did ſo? he bitterly and maliciously answered, that hee did knowe, that Lyons and Dragons did afflict Gods people. Hee did alſo raſe out the croſſe, that was pictured on the toppe of the Crowne. Hee further confeſſed, that he meant alſo her Maieties Counſell ſhould bee remooued, becauſe they were (hee ſayde) wicked: and that hee himſelfe (being moued by the ſpirit) would haue placed certaine other new Counſellors (whome hee then named) to wayte vpon the *Queene*, and to reforme Religion. It is alſo confeſſed by him, that he tolde *Arthington* and others, that hee was the annoynted King of *Europe*. By the depoſitions of the ſayde *Kaye* and his wife, it appeareth, that they finding (about a fortnight before *Hackets* departure from them) the *Queenes* *Maieties* picture pricked with ſome bodkin or yron inſtrument in the very place, representing her royall heart, did in great anger charge *Hacket* with it. Whereunto hee answered, that hee had done it, and muſt and would anſwere it: adding, hee had greater matters to anſwere then that, and therefore (ſayde hee) you neede not make ſuch adoe for it. But *Hacket* at all his examinations eyther denyed this poynt flatly, or ſayde, hee did not remember it. This Noble heart, which thereby

thereby hee so trayterously despited, God of his infinite mercy long blesse and continue still most happie and heartie in his loue and feare, within her Maiesties sacred breast, maugre all such execrable fierie spirits and hell houndes in earth, and all the damned deuils in hell. Amen.

Likewise hee confessed, that hee mooued and sent forth *Coppinger* and *Arthington*, to goe whither God should sende them, and to declare and publish, that there lay a man (namely hee the sayde *Hacket*) at *Walkers* house, which made clayme to the Crowne of *Englande*, and that her Maiestie had forfeited her Crowne, in that her Ministers haue vsed extraordinarie meanes to set vp religion. This hee confessed on the one and twentieth, and three and twentieth of *Iuly*. But at his former examination on the nineteenth of *Iuly*, beeing demaunded whether hee would acknowledge that the *Queenes Maiestie* is lawfull *Queene of Englande* or not? hee subtilly then sayde, hee would not answere to that question, but sayde, shee was *Queene of Englande yet*, if shee had not forfeited the same. And hee further confessed (on the three and twentieth day of *Iuly*) that hee first published in *Hamp-shire* (about three or foure yeeres past) and afterwarde in *Hartfordshire*, and in *Northamptonshire*, that her Maiestie was not *Queene*, and that shee had forfeited her title to the Crowne: and that hee tolde *Arthington* so much in *Trinitie* terme. All these aforesayde, were confessed by him, without any torture: but beeing tortured, hee then sang another song, and confessed her Maiestie to bee his lawfull *Queene*, and affirmed, that hee honoured her, and was sorie for his offence: adding, that if *Coppinger*, *Wigginton*, and one other (whome he named) were well sifted, and straightly examined, they would vtter and declare sundry matters of treason.

It fell out besides vpon deposition of *Kayes*, that *Coppinger* (beeing told how *Hacket* had vsed the *Queenes* picture and the Armes) at the first seemed to mislike with it, saying, that if he were such a fellowe, he had done with him; but (sayth hee) you must beare with him: for some great men haue also borne with him, and he is with you, but as it were a prisoner.

Coppinger himselfe also at that his examination (which was taken the 19. of *Iuly*) confessed, that the Letter then shewed to him, (and inserted afore) was the copie of a Letter which he sent to the

saide *John Vdall* about ten weekes then past, and that the cause why hee wrote to *Vdall* that hee used not to repaie unto him and the rest who were in prison. so often as he was wont to doe, for doubt of more trouble and danger that might growe to them thereby, was, in respect of this action, which he had to doe: hee also then affirmed, that the *Queenes Maiestie*, *Queene Elizabeth*, is not *Queene of England*, neither is he (as hee sayde) now her seruant, for *Hacket* is the onely king of the worlde, and that *Hacket* was commaunded by God to deface her Maiesties Armes which were in the house where hee then lay, and that *Hacket* also prickt the picture of the *Queenes Maiestie* at the heart. That himselfe, *Wigginton*, and one other (the very weeke afore *Wigginton* was committed) had a Fast together, where they prayed, that if any of them should haue any *extraordinarie* calling, they might haue some *extraordinarie* seale of it: about the which time, he the sayd *Coppinger* was called in a Dreame. And that hee (together with *Arthington*, and one other) had a former Fast at the aforesaid *Lancasters* house, about one weeke afore that time: and that her Maiesties Counsell (that now are) must be tryed by this King, whether they are to bee remooued from her *Maiestie* or not: and that shee is to haue to be about her to attend her person (for the time) such as himselfe should assigne, which shalbe those, whome he hath named in a Letter of his, that is found with him: and some others also (hee sayde) were meant to haue bene assigned also for that purpose.

There fell out also vpon some of *Arthingtons* examinations (whiles he remained obstinate) certaine other poyntes not vnworthy to be remembred. One was, that wheras he, in writing of a treatise against the state of this Church as it now standeth, obserued (as hee sayeth) therein his olde woont to abstayne from bitter speeches and raylings, as a thing which hee naturally abhorred: yet within these fewe Moneths, and after hee had entred into these actions, hee had altered his opinion, and was mooued in spirite, to followe another sharpe and biting course of writing, as beeing more conuenient in his iudgement. Also, when some that examined him, stode greatly vpon this point, to perswade him, that he was seduced in those things wherein he seemed so resolute: and reasoned against such their pretended *extraordinarie* callings, giftes, and offices: then hee (for better confirmation thereof) said: that it should very shortly appeare to the world, that they

they were no such seduced persons, as was imagined. For whereas a godly Gentlewoman in *London* (so he termed her) had bene by the space of foureteene yeeres, possessed with a diuell, (as is afore touched) that (for a sure signe of their vocation) the saide deuill should be throwen out of her, by all, or some of their three meanes, very shortly. He also persisted willfull in his former fanfies, vntill the very time that he knewe *Hacket* was hanged, for vntill that day, he very confidently affirmed, that he was most assured by the spirite of God, and by the ioyes and comfort he inwardly felt, that *Hacket* did participate with *Christ* in a part of his office, and was in deede king of all *Europe*, on whome her *Maicstie* and all other, must hold their crownes and scepters, and must gouerne (if they would continue their gouernment) by such lawes, as he should prescribe and set forth, that all they three should shortly be dismissed, and shoulde goe ouer sea with *Hacket*, to take possession of all those his other kingdomes abroad, and to performe their offices. But when the vanitie and danger of this strange fanfie was opened vnto him, his answere was to this effect: You thinke (saith he somewhat pleasantly, as it were pitying their errour and misconceit) that we haue incurred the danger of lawes herein: and that we shall therefore be put to death: but as sure as God is in heauen, the sworde shall not come neere to hurt vs, neither shall any man bee able to touch the least haire of any of our heads.

Thus, the meane time (for the most part thereof) from *Friday* the 16. of *Iuly*, vntill *Munday* seuennight after, being spent in examinations, it was thought good, that *Hacket* should then come to his triall: on which day (being the 26. of *Iuly*) hee was brought from *Bridewell* to the Sessions house neere *Newgate*, before the *Lord Maior*, the *Lord Wentworth*, *Sir Gilbert Gerrard* knight, Master of the Rolles, *Sir Wolstane Dixie*, and *Sir Richard Martin* knight, *M. Sergeant Fleetwood* Recorder of *London*, *M. Daniel* and others in that Commission: where after the graund Iurie was empannelled, the witneses that shoulde giue euidence sworne, and two seuerall Indictments against him found, *Hacket* was willed to holde vp his hand, which he did: then the first Indictment was read being of this tenor being turned into English, viz.

The Iurie doe present for the *Queene*, that *William Hacket* late of *London* fl. *Oundell* in the Countie of *Northampton* yeoman, as a false traytor against the most excellent and Christian Princessse our Soueraigne

Ladie *Elizabeth* by the grace of God, of *England, France, and Ireland*, Queene, defender of the faith, &c, his naturall & Soueraigne liege Ladie, hauing not the feare of God in his heart, nor weighing his due alleageance, but seduced by the instigation of the Deuill, maliciously & traiterously, compassing, imagining, deuising, and intending the deprivation and deposing of our said Soueraigne Ladie *Elizabeth*, from her honor and royall name of the *Imperial Crowne* of this Realme of *England*, on the 21. day of *July*, in the 33. yeere of the reigne of our Soueraigne Ladie *Elizabeth* nowe Queene of *England*, at *London*, that is to say, in the parish of *S. Brides* in the ward of *Farringdon extra London*, and diuers other dayes & times, betwixt the 12. of *Februarie* last past, and the 25. day of *July*, in the said 33. yeere of her Maiesties reigne, as well in the parish and ward aforesaid, as els where in *London* aforesaid, of his own peruerse, and traiterous minde, and imagination, maliciously, expressly, aduisedly, directly, and traiterously in the presence & hearing of sundry faithfull subiects of our said Soueraigne Lady, these false, malicious, and traiterous English wordes following, concerning our sayde Soueraigne Lady the *Q. Maiestie*, falsly, maliciously, aduisedly, expressly, directly, and traiterously saide, rehearsed, published, and spoke, viz. That the *Q. Maiesties* (meaning thereby our said Soueraigne Lady *Q. Elizabeth*) was not Queene of *England*: and that the *Queenes Maiestie* (meaning thereby our saide Soueraigne *Q. Elizabeth* did represent al hypocrisie, and had forfeited her Crown, and was worthis to bee depriued, and that he had bene of that opinion these foure yeeres: and that he defaced her Armes in *Kayes* house (thereby meaning the house of one *Ralph Kayes* situate and being in *Knight-rider* streete in the parish of *S. Gregorie* neere *Paules* in the ward of *Baynards Castle London*) to take away her whole power of her authoritie, and was mooued thereunto by the spirit, and that he neither was, nor is sorie therefore, to the great scandall and derogation of the person and Royaltie of our sayd Soueraigne Ladie the Queene, and to the subuersion of the state of this Realme of *England*, and contrary to the forme of a statute in this case made and prouided, and also against the peace of our said Soueraigne Lady, her Crowne and dignities, &c.

Being asked whether he were guiltie to this Indictment or not? he confessed and pleaded guiltie: adding this, *All must be as you will.* Whereupon *M. Attourney* generall desired for the Queene, his confession

confession of the Indictment might be entred. Then *Hacket* being againe bidden to holde vp his hand, he did so accordingly: whereupon the seconde Indictment was read being in English as followeth, viz.

The Iurie presents for the Queene: That *William Hacket* late of London *Esq.* *Onndell* in the Countie of *North-hampton* Yeoman, as a fallie traitor against the most excellent and Christian Princeesse our Soueraigne Ladie *Elizabeth* by the grace of God of *England, Fraunce and Ireland* Queene, defender of the faith, &c. Hauing not the feare of God in his heart, nor weying his due allegiance, but seduced by the Instigation of the Deuill, and intending wholly to withdrawe, put out, and extinguish the heartie loue, and the true and due obedience, which a true and faithfull subiect of the Queenes shoulde beare, and by lawe is bound to beare, towards our sayde Soueraigne Ladie the Queene. The first day of *Iuly* in the three and thirtieth yeere of the Reigne of the sayde Queene, at *London* in the parish of *Saint Gregories* neere *Pauls* in the ward of *Castle-Baynard* *London*, falsly, maliciously, and traiterously intended, imagined, went about, and compassed, the sayde Queene his Soueraigne and naturall liege Ladie, not onely from her Royall state, title, power, and gouernement of this Realme of *England*, vtterly to depriue, depose, cast downe, and disherit, but also to bring and put the sayde Queenes Maiestie to death, and finall destruction, and sedition in the sayde Realme of *England* to raise vp, leaue and make: and also wholly to subuert and destroy the state of this whole Common wealth, being in and throughout euery part thereof, well constituted and ordered. And to the intent hee might fulfill and bring to passe those his aforesayde trayterous purposes, imaginations, compassings, and intents, the sayde *William Hacket* afterward, that is to say, the sayde first day of *Iuly*, in the three and thirtieth yeere of the reigne of the Queenes Maiestie that now is, did come to the mansion house of one *Ralph Kayes* situate and being in *Knight-rider streets* in the sayde Parish of *Saint Gregorie* in the ward aforesayde: and then and there, maliciously, deuilishly, and trayterously, rased and defaced the Armes of the Queenes Maiestie then and there in the sayde house being, with this intent, trayterously to take away, put downe, and ouerthrowe the power of authoritie of the sayde Queene. And that the sayde *William Hacket* for further

further accomplishing and effecting of his said traiterous purposes, imaginations, compassings, and intents, the said first day of *July*, in the said 33. yeere of her Maiesties reigne, in the house of the sayde *Ralph Kayes* situate in the parish and ward aforesayde, did trayterously raze a certaine picture of the Q. Maiesties, then and there in the said house likewise being: and then and there did maliciously and traiterously put in and thrust an yron Instrument into that part of the sayde picture, that did represent the Brest and Hart of the Q. Maiestie. And after ward, that is to say, on the 16. day of *July*, in the 33. yeere of the reigne of the Q. Maiestie that now is, the sayde *W. Hacket*, trayterously came to the house of one *John Walker* situate and being in the parish of *S. Marie Sommersets* in the ward of *Queene-bithe* in *London* aforesaide, with intent, traiterously to conferre and treatate, with one *Edmund Coppinger* Gent. and *Henry Arthington* Gent. concerning his traiterous purposes, imaginations, compassings, & intents aforesaid, And that the said *William Hacket* afterward, that is to say, on the 16. day of *July* in the 33. yeere of the reigne of the Q. Maiestie that now is, at *London* aforesaide in the house of the saide *John Walker*, in the foresaid parish of *S. Marie Sommerset* in the said ward of *Queenehithe* in *London*, of his owne peruerse and traiterous minde and imagination, maliciously, aduisedly, expresly, and traiterously, did treatate & had conference with the saide *Edmund Coppinger* and *Henry Arthington*, by what wayes, meanes, and maner, the said traiterous purposes, imaginations, compassings, and intents, might be accomplished and brought to passe. And thereupon on the said 16. day of *July*, in the saide 33. yeere, in the said house of *John Walker* aforesaid, situate and being in the sayd parish of *S. Marie Sommersets* in the saide ward of *Queene-bithe* *London*, in the presence & hearing of the said *Edmund Coppinger* and *Henrie Arthington* (being then and there in the said house) the said *Hacket* these false traiterous English words following, of our said Soueraigne *Q. Elizabeth*, falsly, maliciously, aduisedly, expresly, directly & trayterously, sayd, rehearsed, published and spoke, viz. That the Q. Maiestie, (meaning our saide Soueraigne Ladie *Q. Elizabeth*) had forfeited her Crowne, and was worthie to bee depriued. And that furthermore the said *William Hacket* thereupon, the sayd 16. day of *July* in the said 33. yeere, in the said house of *John Walker* situate in the parish of *S. Marie Sommersets* in the sayde ward of *Queene-bithe* *London*, maliciously, and traiterously moued & stirred

vp the sayd *Edmund Coppinger*, and *Henrie Aribington*, traiterouslie and openly to publish and declare in *London* afore sayd; that the *Queenes Maiestie* that now is, had forfeited her crowne to the great offence and derogation of the person of the *Queenes Maiestie*, and to the subuersion of the state of this *Realme of England*, and contray to the peace of our said soueraigne Lady, her crowne and dignities, &c.

And being likewise asked whether he were guiltie to this Inditement or not (belike perceiuing that he was already plunged in farre inough) he began then to answere more peruerslie, saying to the Bench, *You haue wit ynough to iudge for me & your selues too:* being asked the same againe, hee sayd, *Fewe words are best, it is good to know much and to say litle:* and being diuers times asked, he still repeated these wordes. Then being told that if hee should persist in that sort, not to plead directly as by lawe hee ought, it could not serue his turne, for that alone was sufficient of it selfe, to condemne him of the treason: and being asked againe whether hee were guiltie or not, hee sayd, *Ambo.* But some further good aduertisements being giuen vnto him, at last (after much adoe) he pleaded not guiltie to that second Indictment. Thereupon being asked, by whom he would be tried? he sayd by the countrey: but being told he ought to say, *By God and by the countrey*, he said, that he would be tried by the *Iurie*. And therewithall, burst out into such blasphemous and hellish wordes against the *Maiestie* of God (in trueth not to be heard by Christian eares, and therefore not to be vitered or repeated here) that they were to the great astonishment and horror of all, and detestation of him with all the hearers. It may be that he hoped thereby to induce the Iudges to an opinion, that he was mad and furious, albeit in his countenance, gesture, attentionnesse to that which was spoken, silence when hee ought, holding vp his hand when he was commaunded, perceiuing the effect of all was spoken, pertinent (though sometimes peruerse) answers, through all that action, no tokens of any furie or madnesse at all could be noted in him.

Some haue imagined that the Illusion of the deuill was so strong to perswade him of an immunitie from all danger, according to his former conceiued opinions, that thereby he grew to such a diuelish impatience against God, when as now hee sawe himselfe to bee brought to more apparant danger, the (happely) he supposed there

euere would be cause for him to feare. Which thing seemeth more probable to haue bene the occasion therof, for y^e immediately after his blasphemie, he also vsed these words : *God almightie is aboue, and will he not reuenge?* But seeing hee could not bee brought to any other plea, the *Queenes Attorney* generall, desired in behalfe of the *Queene*, that iudgement thereupon might be entered. And seeing hee pleaded guiltie to the one, and stood mute to the second, in that hee answered not as law would (whereupon he was to bee conuicted of both the Inditements) so that none Euidence (which was there readie) needed either to bee vsed, or by the *Queenes Counsell* learned to be opened or enforced : Neuertheless, for better satisfaction of the world, it was by them thought meete, somewhat to shew, both how hainous, and how euident (for prooffe) his treasons were. And albeit I am not able (in any tolerable sort) to repeate the graue, wise, and pithie discourses that were made in this behalfe, by those two woorthie gentlemen master *Attorney generall*, and master *Sollicitor* to her *Maiestie*: yet (I hope) they will pardon me, to set downe onely some few heads of their speeches, as they were noted brieflie from their mouthes, and afterward brought vnto mee. Master *Attorney* declared, that the originall of these plots and conspiracies came from, and were for the Sectaries of this time : that *Coppinger* in a letter to *Vdall* prayeth him and the rest in prison not to faint : that he and others had taken a course for their speedie deliuerance, and desired pardon for not comming to him, which hee sayd might bee dangerous, for that they should bee the sooner suspected, or to that effect : that there were letters dispersed in the streetes fise or sixe dayes before the action : that there were found in *Wiggintons* chamber printed pamphlets, which should bee sent to a great number of women (whom I, quoth master *Attorney* forbear to name) as is touched before : that in other letters was contained, that the *Queene* should commaund her Counsellors to their chambers, because of the stirre and danger which then should bee : that *Hacket* himselfe had afore confessed (besides the other points of the Inditements) how he sent *Arbington* and *Coppinger* to do and proclaime as they did.

Then master *Sollicitor* very excellently also discoursed, how there was no treason more dangerous then that, which is practised vnder other colours, as it were in the cloudes, and none wounded so deep
as

as those that were shadowed vnder the cloke of religion & zeale: for of it commonly followed greatest destruction and calamities. This he exemplified by the *Anabaptists* at *Munster* in *Westphalia*, and some others: that in like sort (as they did) this *Hacket* also affirmeth hee was sent from God, was a principall *Angel* sent before the Iudgement, that he doth participate (with horror I reherse it, said master *Sollicitor*) of the humane nature of *Iesus Christ*, and the two other are *Prophets*, one of *Mercy*, and the other of *Iudgement*. That the *Queene* had forfeited her crowne: that the counsell was wicked, and must be ouer-ruled, and by whom but by him? &c Then he shewed what *Hacket* was, viz. a Bankrupt: that hee had married a widow, and had spent all.

Which done, master *Recorder* of *London*, gaue iudgement vpon *Hacket* as in like cases is accustomed. From thence *Hacket* was caried to *Newgate*, and there remained till *Wednesday* next after (being the appointed day for his execution) that in the meane while he might (by godly counsell) be brought to repentance, and to prouide for his soules health. Certaine preachers so trauelled with him in the meane time, that albeit (for some while) he thought to aduantage himselfe, and to respite his execution, by giuing (through dissimulation) froward and lewd answers, yet at length they brought him (as it then seemed) to a serious consideration of his owne state, and of the grieuousnesse of his treasons. In so much as master *Richard Yong* of *London* comming also vnto him thither, on the *Tuesday* being the 27. of *Iuly*, betwixt the houres of six and seuen in the after noone (sundry others also being in company) he found him (in outward apparance) well affected. For when master *Yong* wished him to submit himselfe, and to confesse his fault towards almightie God, hee presently with good wordes did it accordingly. Then master *Yong* told him that God had appoynted death vnto all men, but vnto diuers in diuers sorts, and wished him to take patiently that which God had laied vpon him. This *Hacket* sayd hee would vnfeinedly doe, and withall asked the *Queenes Maiestie* forgiuenesse, saying, hee was very sory for the wordes hee had spoken, and that it was a gracious and happy turne, that their treasons were in time reuealed: for otherwise it would haue cost a number of innocent men their blouds, and himselfe (hee thought) should neuertheless also, haue bene slayne amongst them: but now he trusted in God, that the others would

confesse also their treasons, and that her *Maiestie* was a gracious Prince, and would forgiue them if they asked mercie. And if it would also please her highnes, to be so gracious vnto him as to pardon him, he would hencefoorth become a good subiect. Furthermore (because he had no money) he then desired *M. Yong* either to giue or to lend him some money: saying, he would repay it againe, ifeuer he were able, who thereupon did his deuotion towards him. Then *Hacket* thanked him, and desired master *Yong* to pray for him. Thus hee continued in good temper that night, and the next morning, vntill (looking out at one of the windowes into the streete leading towards *Chepeside*) he sawe all the streete euened filled (as it were) vp with people, expecting his execution. Thereupon he began to answer such as exhorted him very desperately, and blasphemously: and when as comming downe the staires, one of the Shiriffs wished him to be mindfull of *Christes* death, who suffered for him, hee thereupon vttered in most execrable blasphemie against *Christes* blessed passion.

Hee was brought from *Newgate* towards the place of execution, the eight and twentieth day of *Julie* (being *Wednesday*) after tenne of the clocke in the morning, albeit by reason of the incredible multitude (then in the streetes) but especially in *Chepeside* from one end thereof vnto another (the like whereof at no assemblie in memorie hath bene seene) it was very long ere the Officers (with all they could doe) could get him to the very place. All the way that hee was dragged vpon the hurdle, hee continued his counterfeite wayne that he had then vndertaken: one while crying out *Iehouah Messias, Iehouah Messias*: another while crying out thus: Looke, looke, how the heauens open wide, and the sonne of God commeth downe to deliuer me. When he came vnder the gibbet (which was reared hard by the crosse in *Chepeside*, towards the right hand of the streete as you come from *Pawles*) and the noise beyng appeased, hee was exhorted to aske God, and the *Queene* forgiuenesse, and to fall to his prayers: but he perseuering in his vnprofitable course of dissimulation, in stead thereof, fell to rayling and cursing of the *Queenes Maiestie*, most villanously. But beyng more vehemently vrged to remember his present state, and to giue ouer all hope to doe himselfe good by such dissembling, hee beganne to pray this most passionate, blasphemous, and execrable prayer, videlicet. *O God of heauen, mightie Iehouah,*

Iehouah, Alpha and Omega, Lord of Lordes, King of Kings, and God everlasting, that knowest me to be that true *Iehouah*, whome thou hast sent: send some miracle out of a cloude to conuert these Infidels, and deliver me from these mine enemies: If not, I will fire the heavens, and teare thee from thy throne with my handes. With other words of most execrable blasphemie against the diuine Maiestie of God (not to be rehearsed) by reason that he found not that deliuerance, which he fancied God to haue promised. Then turning towards the Executioner, he said vnto him, Ah thou bastards childe, wilt thou hange *William Hacket* thy king? The *Magistrates* and people detesting this subtile, seditious, and blasphemous humour, commanded and cried to the Officers to dispatch with him, or to haue his mouth stopped from blaspheming: but they had much a doe to get him vp the ladder: And when he was vp, he struggled with his head to and fro, (as wel as he could) that he might not haue the fatal noose put ouer his head. Then he asked them (very fearefully) *O what do you, what doe you?* but seeing by the circumstance, what they intended, he beganne to raue againe, and saide, Haue I this for my kingdom bestowed vpon thee? I come to reuenge thee, and plague thee, and so was turned off. But the people vnwilling that so traitorous and blasphemous a wretch, should haue any the least fauour: cryed out mightily to haue him cut downe presently, to be quartered, and seemed very angrie with the Officers, that made no more haste therein: but as soone almost as he was cut downe, (euen with a trice) his heart was taken forth, and shewed out openly to the people, for a most detestable, blasphemous traytors heart.

Thus died the most dangerous firebrand of sedition, most detestable traitor, most hypocriticall seducer, and most execrable blasphemous helhound, that many ages euer sawe, or heard of, in this lande.

The next day after this (being *Thursday*,) *Coppinger* hauing wilfully abstained from meate (as is said) seuen or eight daies together, died in *Bridewell*: and *Arthington* liueth yet in the Counter in *Woodstrecte*, reserued (I hope) vnto sincere and perfite repentance. For immediatly vpon *Hackets* execution, hee wrote a letter vnto two great *Counsellors*, (whome among others he had lowely slandered) of submission, and afterwards (more at large) he wrote to the bodie of the Councell, the whole course (as he pretendeth) of this action, so farre as he was made acquainted therewith, humbly

crauing their Lordships mediation vnto the *Queenes most excellent Maiestie* for his pardon, and acknowledging his dangerous error, and diuelish seduction (by *Hacket* especially) into this traitorous action.

This declaration is truly taken forth of their owne letters, writings vnder their hands, and their confessions vpon examinations, subscribed by themselves, and by sundry honourable and worshipfull persons of great grauitie, and wisdom, before whome they were made: and therefore may suffice, to shewe vnto all reasonable and well affected, the lewdnes and danger of the hypocritically plots, and sedicious conspiracies entred into by these persons.

But some there are so peruersely wedded to their owne wils, and addicted to their fancies once conceaued, that they giue out they were madde, and furious persons, choosing therein, rather to accuse the honourable *Iustice* of the *Realme*, and all the administrators thereof, then that any of their factious crewe (professing desire of pretended Reformation, and to bring in *The Discipline* (as they call it) should be noted with so deepe disloyaltie.

As it is not the part of any honest *Christian*, by calumnation to charge those y be innocent: so doth it not become a loyall subiect, to iustifie any traytors, especially w slandering of the State. It therefore seemeth requisite, that this point be not left vncleared: whether they or any of them, in these practises, were in deed transported with furie, besides themselves, so as they needed not to haue bene regarded, nor (by lawe) ought to haue suffered death for them?

In wants of vnderstanding and reason (after such time as men should naturally haue them) there are noted diuers degrees, that are also of seuerall consideration, that is to say: *Furor sine Rabies: Dementia sine Amentia: Insania sine Phrenesis: Fatuitas, Stultitia, Lethargia, & Deliriū*. And albeit the three first (by sundry writers) be sometimes confounded & taken for one, like as also the fourth is with the fifth, and the sixth with the last: yet when the diuersitie espied in the thinges themselves, doe driue men to a more exact consideration, and distinction of the wordes (by which those passions are to be expressed) they are for the most part thus properly termed and distinguished by the best writers.

Tusc. qu. li. 3.

Furor (as it is described by *Tully*) *est mentis ad omnia cecitas*: an entire and full blindness or darkening of the vnderstanding of the mind, whereby a man knoweth not at all, what he doeth or sayth, and

and is englished *madnes* or *woodnes*. He that is possessed herewith, is carried with furie of minde, into great violences, and outrages, so that hee neither spareth himselfe, nor other men, and is called in Greeke *μωρησις*. Such was the madnes of *Ajax* (as is fained by the *Poets*) who whipped and scourged droues of beastes and cattell, thinking they were the *Gracians* that had displeased him, and afterward in that rage, killed himselfe.

Bal. in l. sed & milites iam autem § ff. de excusi. tu. to: & pas- sim alij.

Dementia is described there, by the same Author, to be *affectio animi lumine mentis carens*, A passion of the minde, bereauing it of the light of vnderstanding: Or as another graue and learned Author calleth it, *ablatus rerum omnium intellectus*, when a mans perceiuance and vnderstanding of all things is taken away, and may be englished *distracted of wit*, or being *beside himselfe*. Such one is called also *Mente captus*, *cum mensei e potestate abiit*, in Greeke *αἰνως*. This infirmitie of the mind is lesse then furious rage, and to be distinguished from it. They differ in this, that the first is, as it were carried with great outrage of minde, into violent courses: but he that is onely *mente captus*, vseth greater quietnes of body, & calmernes, and sheweth not such outward testimonies in his actions, of alienation of his wits: yet neither of these haue any ruled memorie, will, vnderstanding, or feeling, of that they doe or say.

Ibidem.

Quintil. Declamat. 348.

Festus.

L. D. de inof. fic. testamento. DD. in § 1. Instit. de curat.

Insania is also described by *Tully* (vpon the iudgement of the Authors of the 12. Tables) to be *inconstancia sanitate vacans, quæ tamen possit tueri officium vite communis, & cultum vsitatum*; A kind of Inconstancie voide in deede of perfite soundnes of minde, yet such, as that he which hath it can obserue and doe the common offices of this life amongst men, in some reasonable and tollerable sorte: such be all they, whome commonly wee terme either franticke, braine-sicke, cracked-witted, cocke-braines, or hare-brained men, being not altogether vnapt for ciuill societies, or voide of vnderstanding, to perceiue what they say or doe, or what is saide vnto them: albeit they haue many strange conceites, toying fansies, and performe sundry, rash, vndiscreete, mad, and foolish parts. Many examples of these three degrees, much differing one from another, may be obserued in our daily experience, & in histories of all ages.

Tuscul. qu. li. 3.

Fatuitas is the want of wit and vnderstanding, wherewith natural fooles are possessed: But *Stultitia* is that follie which is seene in such, as albeit they be but simple and grosse witted, yet are not to bee accounted very Idiotes, or Naturals. Therefore one speaking modestly

Africanus.

modestie of himselfe, saide thus: *Ego stultum me existimo, fatuum esse non opinor*. I take my selfe to be but a simple man, yet (I hope) no starke idiote.

A *Lethargie* is a notable forgetfulness of all things almost, that heretofore a man hath knowen, or of their names: so that such one often times forgetteth also his owne name, calleth any thing by a wrong name, and beginning to speake, forgetteth what he had saide afore, and what hee meant to say after. This distemperature and weakenes commeth by some blowe, sickenes, or age.

Delirium is that weakenes of conceite and consideration, which we call dotage: when a man, through age or infirmitie, falleth to be a childe againe in discretion: albeit he vnderstand what is said, and can happely speake somewhat pertinently vnto sundry matters.

If a man, whiles he is troubled with either of the first two infirmities, shall commit any thing, which in his owne nature is criminall, all good lawes doe rather pitie his case, then punish him, albeit, in the rest, it be not absolutely so obserued: for *voluntas non actus, affectus non effectus distinguunt maleficia*: we are not in punishing offenders, so much to respect the euent, and what is done, as with what purpose, mind, and affection the thing is done. But such as be furious, and distracted of their wits, are intended (whiles that passion lasteth) to haue no will, to know or perceauie nothing, & therefore not to giue consent to any thing they doe, or say. In which respects they are compared in lawe, to men absent, and vtterly ignorant of any thing done by themselves, or in their presence.

Nowe then, to examine these three persons by that which hath bene saide: It may be yeelded, that their imaginations, purposes, plots, and designements, respecting the weightines of the end, and weakenes of the meanes, were fantasticall, vnadvised, & most fond and vnlikely, yet none otherwise then may be also truely saide for the most part of all such fanatical fantastiques, schismaticques, heretiques, or malecōtented treasonable conspirators whatsoever. But cannot (truly or with any colour of probabilitie) be affirmed, that any of them were mad, beside themselves, and out of their wits, as not knowing and perceiuing what they did or said, or what others said or did vnto them.

First concerning *Arthington*, I haue not heard so much as any doubt at all of madnes to haue bene made by any man that conuersed, or had to deale with him, either in, or after this action. But
because

117. § filio.
D. § de iniurijs L. 2.
§ finali. D.
de iure Codicillorum.

because *Coppinger* hath bene supposed by many (after the time of his first examination) to haue fallen into starke madnes, let vs a litle looke backe, & briefly recapitulate some points, that haue bene afore touched concerning him, to see, if any such distraction of mind could also be noted in him, by the carriage of this action, before his apprehension. Yet I doe know, that it hath bene doubted (vpon some good ground) by wise men, whether he were in deed mad, euen at any time after he was apprehended, as he made shew, or whether it were onely fained by him. For a mad man may, & often times doth, for 2. or 3. daies together, cate no meate, nor happily drinckes not at al. But when the humors of his stomacke are fully concocted & put ouer, so that for want of food, it beginneth naturally to sucke backe the blood & nourishment, distributed afore into the veines & parts, which breedeth hunger: then wil a mad man (most commonly) very greedily & rauenously, euen by course of nature, fall to his meate, if it be shewed him, & cannot abstaine, because he cannot dissemble this appetite, in the time of his furie. But *Coppinger* is said to haue forborne & abstained from meate & drinck (though they were offred vnto him) by the space of 8. whole daies: whereby he grew so weake, as that it may seeme, he died for want of sustenance. Such resolution or obduration of mind, can hardly so long together remaine with him, that is madde in deed, & knoweth not what he doeth. Howsoeuer it were after, it is sure, that before their pageant was plaied, (wherein matters prospered not as they expected) the whole course of his speeches, writings, & other dealings were such, as doe argue no defect at all of reason, memorie, wit, or vnderstanding, setting aside the absurditie and follie of the fantasie, wherewith he was led.

For when he first had taken apprehension of such *extraordinarie* calling, he yeelded not streight way & vnadvisedly vnto it, but after long & deliberate debating with himselfe: his care was great, and course (as in such a matter) was considerate, in seeking to be resolved by such, as he both then, & afore held, to be best able to iudge of his gifts & calling: the questions that he framed were very pertinent to that purpose, and orderly penned: his letters & speeches to *T.C.* to *Eg.* to *Ch.* to *Vd.* to *Lan.* to *Wig.* to *P.W.* to *I.T.* and others, and to them of forreine Churches, were (for that matter) well and advisedly indited: his cunning was not small, to keepe the very particular way of effecting that which he desired, from those he

dealt with, because himselfe knewe it a dangerous secrete, and a course not iustificable, vnlesse it came by *extraordinarie* motion, and speciall œconomie from God, and therefore he desired to haue it allowed so to be: his pretense of entertaining intelligence (touching some important seruice to the State of the Realme, whereof he pretended to haue an inckling, but no full and particular knowledge) was none vnaduised or simple reache of policie, in him. For if in platting of his purposes, and dealing in the principall action, any thing of doubtfull acceptance, should happen to haue bene after discovered, then might he well and with good colour, haue pretended, that hee did it but in way of attaining to intelligence of those dangers, whereof the generalitie (as it were in the cloudes) he had afore deliuered to a *Counsellor*. For he might not seeme a man to be suspected of any disloyall purpose, who shewed himselfe so careful for his Soueraignes safetie. Adde to these, his cunning petition, to haue prisoners for treason, &c. to be examined by himselfe, and execution of condemned persons to be staied at his becke, whereby he might more easily haue induced them to appeach, whom he list to haue ouerthrowen, and whom he principally aimed at. His subiltie also doth notably appeare in his petitions to her *Maiestie*: where he makes shewe of great secretes to be deliuered onely in her presence, and praieth to be pardoned, if in ouer much feare of her safetie, he had attempted to prooue that, which he could not, which argueth, that he had (in deede) not so much as any colourable intelligence deliuered vnto him, of treason intended, by such great men, as he pretended: but vsed this as a meanes, to haue acceffe, for himselfe and the others, vnto her Highnes presence, for some further intended mischief: then his allowance and commendation of sound & good counsel giuen him, by *Eg.* a preacher, and by others: his sparing to reueale the great & dangerous secret vnto *Hacket*, vpon their first acquaintance: his rasing out of *Hackets* and the Townes name, out of the letter sent by him to a Noble personage, to giue inckling of treasons intended against her *Maiestie*, least the qualitie and vnlikelihood of the man being enquired after, that plat should be dashed: his not subscribing of his name to sundry letters: his directing of *Hacket*, neither to subscribe nor endorse (but in that sorte as he prescribed) for feare of discouerie: his desire to haue all the letters againe, that hee had written to *Eg.* about that matter: his warie and diligent keeping of
copies,

copies, of euery letter that he writ in that cause : and when leasure serued not so to doe, his great care to haue the very letters againe : his offence with one *Hoc*. for keeping a letter from him, which he had sent vnto him : his cunning excuse of *Hackets* defacing of the *Queenes* Armes : his counterfeite reuelation to bring *Arthington* further in : his deuise to make *Arthington* resolute, by saying it was reuealed to him, that they had *Angelicall* spirits, not subiect to hurt, by any mortall power : his willing choise to withdrawe himselfe into an house, when (after their proclamation) things fell not out as was expected, and from thence afterward to goe to his place of abode, thorough by-lanes : his and *Hackets* putting of the matter frō knowledge of *Arthington* for a time, though afterward (happely) to be opened, why the *Queene* might not be praied for, in particular : their pretense of the Lordes commandement, to keepe the meanes secret : how the *Queenes Maiestie* and the *Conncel* were to be brought to repentance, and vnto their pretended Reformation : The sensible and coherent manner of report vnto *Wigginton*, touching *Hackets* and their own callings, and offices, by *Coppinger* and *Arthington* : their temperate and pertinent answeres vnto *Wiggintons* speeches, and all their consulting sundry times together, about their busines, namely, the night afore, and the day of their proclamation, doe plainly argue, that *Coppinger* (albeit he were greatly misled by a false and spitefull zeale, and by much hypocrisie) yet was he farre ynough, from any distracting of his wits, in euery part of this action.

And concerning *Hacket* (whose terrible blasphemies at the last, doe argue either a villanous dissimulation to haue his execution respited, or a desperate intemperancie against God, for frustrating his expectation) there can no furie or madnes bee iustly noted in him, by the whole managing of this action, but rather, notable hypocrisie, craft, and dissembled holines. First, in that he seemed a man most zealous for the pretended *Reformation* of the Church, by erecting the *Discipline*, and afterward also for reforming of the Common-wealth : That hee vsed (in outward apparance) a most feruent, and deuoute manner of praying : that in his prayers, he did execrate himselfe most deeply, if hee sought not the glorie of God onely in this action, thereby the better to be credited, and to couer his villanies : that hee tooke a daies deliberation, to answer the great matter, after it was first propounded by *Coppin-*

ger: that he sought to get credit to himselfe, & to terrifie her *Ma-
iestie*, by telling (in generalities) of strange iudgements of God, im-
minent ouer her, that were reuealed vnto him: that foreseeing it
not vnlikely to raine (after a long time of drought) hee praied in
Coppingers presence for raine, wherby it might seeme to be sent by
God, at his onely praier & mediation: that he bare them in hand
he could tell thinges to come, being meerely contingent: that he
could faine such kind of *Reuelations*, as if they were shewed to him
in the midst of his torments, which (if they be marked) tended
onely to haue himselfe magnified, as a man placed most highly in
Gods fauour: that when the one of his followers seemed offended,
he craftily excused the mislike which he had shewed, to heare her
Maiestie praied for: that the better to colour his hatred & malice,
he afterward praied for her himselfe: that he cunningly induced
Coppinger, either to feigne or to fancie a Reuelation, that he, & *Ar-
thington* must obey him the saide *Hacket* in all things: that he pre-
tended to dispense with *Arthington*, for honouring him as king of
Europe, vntill he should doe it before others, where it might stande
him in better steede: that he craftily put off his intended anointing
by *Coppinger*, (as being already done in heauen) lest some (vnloo-
ked for) accident happely falling foorth, the whole pageant might
haue bene marred: that his pretended greatest office of leuering (in
Christs behalfe) the good from the bad, with his fanne in his hand,
was concealed from *Arthington*, vntil the very time that the mes-
sage was to be done by them, when as it was too late to consider of
it, & vnlawful to be disobeied: that this office he proclaimed vnto
them (after his two solemne praiers, for direction of them by Gods
spirit, to the glory of God onely) as it were an oracle newly drop-
ped downe from heauen: that he answered *Wiggintons* questions
very cunningly, as touching the old Magistrats that were gone, and
the new come in place, meaning thereby (in trueth) the displacing
of al her *Maiesties* *Councel*: that he warily qualified *Coppingers* and
Arthingtons speeches, which seemed vnto *Wigginton*, to attribute a
litle too much vnto him: that (comming through y^e streets, & see-
ing their proclamation had not made such sturre, as was hoped) he
then pretended vnto *Wigg*. that he had not set them on worke, but
maruailed what they meant therby, & therupō signified, he would
depart y^e city, & be gone home: that fearing what might happen in
the euent of the tumult, he sent them into the streets, but taried be-
hind

hind in the house himself: that he put the trial of his said pretended great office (which he claimed in *Christs* roome) vpon this issue & trial, that none of y^e people which should come to see him, had the power to kill him: for hee knew that no priuate subiect might or would attempt to do it, howsoever otherwise they tooke the matter: that after the matter fel not out to his purpose, & being returned to *Walkers* house, he rebuked *Arth.* ouermuch forwardnes, for calling him there (openly before others) the *king of the earth*, & excused this in him, by his great zeale: that he slyly auoided the questions which the minister of that parish did aske him touching those things which *Arthington* attributed vnto him: that hee vsed at his examinations, many craftie euasions, when any question of capitall danger to him was asked: that he constantly at all his examinations persisted in denying, and said he did not remember that action which seemed most odiouslie traiterous touching the piercing that part of the picture, which represented her *Maiesties* roiall heart: that he denied also to haue sent them to publish as they did: that he did answer so doggedly and (in trueth) knauishly, to the question of defacing the Lion and Dragon in her *Maiesties* armes: that to a question (of most importance) whether her *Maiestie* were lawfull *Queene of England*? he refused to answer: that he subtilly answered (albeit not to the lawfulnessse of her being *Queene*) yet she was (in fact) *Queene* as yet *if she had not forfeited it*: that when he was tortured, he reuoked his treasons, and sorowfully submitted himselfe, a course which by the extremitie of paine (at the first assaying of it) doth driue a man (being in deed mad) into a far greater rage and impatience then he was afore: that till he was tortured, hee would not appeach any other his complices in the treasons: that being not willing to plead directly to his second inditement, he draue of the time with cunning answeres, in deed importing nothing lesse then madnesse: that being in good temper, and (as seemed) well disposed in mind both the night before, and the Wednesday morning, vntill he sawe no remedie, but that hee was presently to be executed, he burst forth into his horrible blasphemies: and that at the very execution, in his greatest impatience pretended, (albeit his speeches were most villanous agaynst the *Queene*, and blasphemous towards God) yet he vnderstood what was sayd and done, his wordes had sense, and his prayer was coherent together, one part with another. None of all which things pre-

missed, can happen or be found in him, that is in deed furious and distracted of his wits, such as the lawes not onely doe pitie, but also spare and protect from all punishment.

If any man now shall maruell how such vayne and foolish conceits, could so deeply possesse men of any consideration, let him remember what *Luther* writ against certaine like fanaticall persons, the *Anabaptists* in *Germanie*: who pretended like puritie, and intended also a dangerous Reformation: *There is (saith hee) none error so absurd, but (when Gods wrath is once kindled) the deuil is able to perswade it.*

But if offence be taken by any against the Gospell it selfe, for that these weedes haue sprung vp in the times, and amongst those persons that make outward profession of it, let that bee called to mind, which I sayd in the beginning of this treatise, and the comparison and resemblance now ensuing bee considered, with these mens purposes, opinions, and actions, which there I promised to make betwixt them and certaine heresies and tumults stirred vp in *Germanie*, at the very beginning of the renewing of the light of the Gospell, by the preaching of *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and others, the brieft of which storie is thus, viz.

Sleidan lib. 4.
& 6.

About fixe or seuen yeeres after *Luther* began to preach the Gospell, the deuil (to disturbe this worke) stirred vp certaine hote-brained, vnconsiderate, and importune preachers, that misliked not onely the doctrine of the *Pope*, but the doctrine of *Luther* also, as not being so spirituall, nor seruing so fitly for planting of puritie, as they thought requisite. By whose continual clamour, and sharpe Inuectiues agaynst the enormities of the *Ecclesiasticall* state, the *Nobilitie* and *Magistrates*, such effect was wrought, as that (in short time) there was kindled a most fearefull warre of aboue one hundred thousand of the common and vplandish people, rising and taking vp armes, almost about one time, in seuerall partes of *Germanie*, where they sacked townes, killed certaine of the *Nobilitie*, and did many other outrages. For such preachers hauing set them on fire, did so harden them also, as that they could not be wholly vanquished, vntill (what in one place and in other of that countrey) fiftie thousand of them were killed, and cut in pieces by the vnited forces of the most of the *Princes* of the *Empire*. The manner of these peasants linking themselues together, was in secret conuenticles by night, and assemblies in priuate houses, where they

they gaue mutuall sayth and oath, each of them to sticke to other. Their purposes and counsels were how to ouerthrow the state *Ecclesiasticall*, the *Magistrates* and *Counsels* of Estate, in euery seuerall Prouince. When they were vp in armes, they made the pretenses of their actions, to bee the defending, erecting, and vpholding of the preaching of the Gospell through euery place. Being once assembled in great troupes, they then set foorth and published certaine points, which they required the *Princes* and *Magistrates* to performe and yeeld vnto them, whereof these following were some, amongst sundry other grieuances, which they pretended were offered vnto them by *Princes*, *Noble-men*, *Magistrates* and gentlemen, and whereof they vrged a Reformation, videlicet. One petition of those vplandish rebels was this: that they and other the common people, themselues might euery where haue the free choise of sincere ministers: another that Mortuaries might wholly be taken away: a third, that they might bee disburdened of paying any tithes to Ecclesiasticall persons, but onely corne: and a fourth, that they might also prescribe how these tithes should bee better employed. *Luther* in an answer that he made to that booke of theirs, saith, hee conceiued that this sedition was a very strata-geme of *Sathan*: to the intent that the deuill might destroy and kill him, and other true and sound preachers of the Gospell, by men making outward shew and profession of the same religion, because he sawe he could not effect it, nor so farre preuaile by open aduersaries, such as the *Pope* was and his adherents. For these rebels called themselues a *Christian congregation*, and bragged much, that they would (in all their actions) follow the precise rule of Gods word. And whereas (vnder the pretence of detestation of sinne, and of their owne great sinceritie and good liues) these traiterous rebels noted many faults in all other sortes and states of men, and protested also great loyaltie and fidelitie to the persons of their *Princes*, so they might but haue things amisse reformed: he freele and truely putteth them in mind, that whiles they pried thus narrowly into other mens faultes, the deuill had so blinded them (through pride and hypocrisie) that they could not see their owne detestable treasons, with other their sinnes, and impieties: adding also, that such as wrest away or abate *Princes* swordes and Iurisdictions, will (vpon any fitte opportuni-

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tie offered) no doubt, take away their liues also : which is chieflie maintained by their soueraigne iurisdiction, and by power of the sword.

Amongst others, *Carolastadius* a preacher, professing the Gospel, but fallen into discontentments and emulous oppositions against *Luther* : gaue no small aduancement to this fearefull commotion. This man attributed much to Cabinet teachers in priuate conuenticles, and vnto visions, and pretended conferences with God. But of all other preachers that pretended enmitie both to the *Pope* and vnto *Luther*, one *Thomas Muncer* was the hottest and chiefest *bontifex* and bellowes of this sedition. At first he vrged and exhorted men (in his teaching by a good space together) and that with great vehemencie, vnto a singular, strait, precise, and holy course of life : namely to flie all, euen the least shew of actuall sinne, to fast much, to array themselues with meane and base rayment, to retaine a setled austeritie in countenance, to speake seldome, and such like : which he called the bearing of the crosse, mortification and *discipline*. Now when as hereby hee had procured vnto himselfe, a great opinion of holines and reputation with the common people, he proceeded further vnto strange and very dangerous opinions : for then he began to teach men in their prayers, to aske a signe of God, whether they held the trueth in religion or not? that if he gaue not a signe, they might importune him, and expostulate with him, that hee delt not well with them in not giuing a signe to them, who (in this sort) begged but true knowledge of him, saying, that to shew such anger in prayer, was acceptable vnto God, for that hereby men did shew their seruencie in zeale. Hee taught also, that God (euen in these dayes) did reueale his will by dreams and visions : that all iudgements ciuill, must be by the *Bible* or reuelation from God : that all in dignitie must be equall. He rayled against *Princes*, and imputed many faults vnto them, and namely this, that they suffered the *Ecclesiasticall* state with great impietie. This opinion of equalitie of authoritie and dignitie, made the common people fall from their worke, and beginning to gad idly vpon and downe, they tooke away (by violence) such things as they had need of, from those that were more wealthie.

Muncer (in this sort) winning many vnto him, they entered from time to time into secrete leagues together, vpon mutuall othes giuen, to helpe to roote out and kill all wicked magistrates,

to the intent newe that were more godly might be set in their places, for so (he saide) God had giuen in commandement vnto him. According to which plots (by a tumult of the people) at *Mulhusin*, he procured the olde *Officer* to be deposed, and a new *Magistrate* to be set vp in his place, and himselfe to bee chosen a *Senator* of that Citie, albeit he was stil a Preacher, and seemed to mislike this course in other men. Nowe when as by these and other like meanes, great multitudes of men, to the number of fourtie thousand had taken vp armes, throughout *Franconia*, and *Sueuia*, then he thought opportunitie serued him to set forward his purposes, by adioyning himselfe vnto them: and in this action one *Phyfer*, a neere companion of his, and like affected to him, did also ioyne. But when the rebellious Rout wanted victuals, and many other necessaries, whereby their courages began to faile: then hee comforted them in his Sermons, and assured them (as from God) that their cause and quarrell was so good, that the frame of the whole worlde should sooner be changed, then they should be forsaken, or left destitute of him. And when the *Princes* armie (gathered to subdue them, being greater and better furnished then theirs were) was ready to ioyne in battell, hee still most resolutely assured them, of some euident miraculous helpe, to bee manifested from Heauen, for the ouerthrowe of their enemies: saying, that God would so enfeeble all their enemies shot, that *Muncer* himselfe would receiue them al (without harme) into the lap of his coate, before they should light: for a token hereof, it happened that they had taken the signe of a Raine-bowe for their ensigne, he shewed them (as it fell out the selfe same time) a true Rainebowe in Heauen, as an vndoubted signe, that they should obtaine the victorie. Whereupon they courageously at first set forward, singing a song for ayde by the holy Ghost: but being neuerthelesse all put in Rout and discomfited, *Muncer* fledde away, and disguised himselfe. Yet by meanes of certaine letters that were found with him, he was afterward in a house discouered, and taken. Being brought before the *Magistrates*, he stoutly defended his fact, affirming, that *Princes*, who refused to establish the puritie of the Gospel, were in that sort to be bridled. When he was brought to the place of execution, & saw no hope of escape (which before he hoped for) he grewe to be very, much deiected, & perplexed in minde, in so much, as without helpe of a godly *Prince*, which then stood by, he could not repeate so much as the articles of his *Christian* faith.

I shall not neede to dwell long in the application and resemblance of these poynts, vnto this late tragedie : the very reading of them ouer, giuing sufficient light vnto the same. For the sharpe and angrie zeale of some vnaduised Preachers, which pretend neither to like of the *Pope*, nor of the present state of the Church, for want of some puritie, as they fanſie, hath it not incensed, and made to boyle ouer, not onely the foule mouthes of *Martinists*, but also the traiterous actions of these Conspirators? And albeit the common multitude (whom the *Disciplinarians* bragge to bee already inflamed with zeale, ready to lend a hundred thousande handes for the aduancement of their cause, and by whom they hope and say such Reformation must at last bee brought in) did better keepe themselves out of this action then was expected : Yet the danger thereof was as great, and if it had once taken head, would (happely) as hardly as the other haue bene subdued. Were not the treaties of these men also in priuate houses at night-fasts, and the Consultations concerning it, at Classicall Conuenticles, and like assemblies? Did not these likewise shoote at the ouerthrowe of the whole state Ecclesiasticall, and at the displacing of her Maiesties most honorable Counsel, and that vnder pretence of Reformation, & to aduance the preaching of the Gospel in euery congregation throughout this land? Made not these the like complaints of wicked *Counsellors*, *Noble men*, and *Magistrates*, for keeping out the *Discipline*, for persecuting sincere Preachers, & afflicting Gods people, like lyons and Dragons? And doe they not pretend this to bee a speciall grievance of theirs, that the common people of euery Congregation may not elect their owne Ministers? that the people are brought vnder the yoke of the lawe Ceremoniall, by paying tythes, &c. and is not the hand and head of *Satan*, as plainly in this action, to seeke the ouerthrowe of sound professors, by others of the same profession, vnder pretence of greater sinceritie? Doe not these likewise almost appropriate to themselves and their fauorites, the termes of Gods Church, of Christian brethren, and of true & reformed Preachers? Is any speech more rife in their mouthes, then that they will only be tried and iudged by Gods booke, and by his spirit? Do they not taxe all other men (not so farre gone as themselves) of loose liues, of Antichristianisme, of Hypocrisie, & Idolatrie: in the meane time, neuer looking at their owne treasons, disloyalties, and other vices? Make they not great ostentation of loue and fidelitie to her

Maiesties

Maiesties Person, and of care of her safetie, euen when they secretly nourished a fanſie of forfeiture of her Crowne, & ſought to ouer-rule her by *Hacket* their imagined Soueraigne King of *Europe*? Had they not their Cabinet Preachers, their table-end teachers, their guides of Faſts, &c. that teach, pray for, & attend *extraordinaſie* callings by viſions, dreames, reuelations, & *enlightnings*? Was not *Giles Wigginton* & ſome others vnto them, as *Thomas Muncer*, & *Phifer* were to the *Germanes*, men of ſuppoſed great aſteritie of life, holineſſe, fauour with God, reſoluteneſſe in his cauſe, ſingleneſſe, and vprightneſſe of heart? Did not *Wigginton* reſolue them, by examples he gathered, touching *extraordinaſie* callings in theſe dayes, by reaſon of the great waſte of this Church of *England*? Had not hee and they likewiſe learned of the ſame Deuill (in the prayers at faſts) to aſke ſignes and ſeales of God, for their *extraordinaſie* callings? Doth not *Arthington* ſay, that he importuned God in his prayers? and *Coppinger*, that hee had leaue giuen to talke more familiarly with God then afore? Did not *Hacket* in praying for the pretended poſſeſſed Gentlewoman, ſawcily expoſtulate with God, & charge him with his promiſe, as if he dealt not well with him? Did he not at his Arraignement and Execution, ſhewe ſuch anger in his prayers againſt God, thinking belike, as thoſe did, to be excuſed by his feruencie of zeale? Did not both hee and *Coppinger* pretend conference with God by ſundrie reuelations and dreames? Doe not they *Fenneri theol.* and the reſt of the *Disciplinarian* humor, exact and ſeeke to ſquare out, euen in *Hypotheſi*, all ciuill policies and iudgements (in cauſes Criminall eſpecially) vnto the Iudicials of *Moyſes*, giuen for the people of the Iewes? Is there any thing they ſtand more vpon, or condemne the contrary deeper, then to haue an equalitie amongs all perſons Eccleſiaſtical? Doe they not inueigh ſharply againſt Prince and Nobles, for vpholding the ſtate Eccleſiaſtical, and in this reſpect intended to haue them brought to repentance, when their opinions grew to a ripeneſſe? Was not this their principal pretended purpoſe, to plant the Goſpel and their Reformation by rooting out wicked *Magiſtrates*, and *Counſellors* (as they iudged) and by ſetting others in their places? Did *Hackets* fanſied Panne in ſtead of Chriſt, to ſeuer the good frō the bad, import any thing els, or ſhould it haue ſerued any other turne, then for the killing vp of al that thought not wel of their *Discipline & Reformation*? Did they not pretend the wil of the Lord ſo to be? And was it not plainly ment, this to be effected

by tumult of the common people? did not these likewise beare one another in hand, that all things shoulde succcede and prosper with them? that no violence could harme them, nor any man had power to hurt them, as hauing *Angelicall* Spirits, and being in most high fauour with God? and *Hacket* accordingly (euen in going to execution) did he not call for and expect a miraculous deliuerance from Heauen, out of the hands of those, whom he called his enemies? Did he not likewise (for a certaine signe of his fauour with God) make *Coppinger* belecue, that he coulde and did obtaine raine, and coulde stay it at his pleasure? Was not the chieft of their plots and conspiracies detected by their letters founde with them? Did not they likewise when they were conuented before the Magistrate, stoutly & resolutely defend their dealings, and maintaine, that the *Prince* had forfeited her right, and was now to be bridled & ouer-ruled by others? and lastly, was not that impious wretch *Hacket* as irresolute, deiected, and base-minded towards his death, as *Muncer*, or any man either could be, or as so bad a cause might procure?

Not long after those former rebellions in *Germanie*, another strange and memorable Commotion happened in *Munster*, the principall Citie of *Westphalia*, a Prouince also of *Germanie*: which is not vnmeete to be (in some poynts) also touched in this place, for the neere resemblance that it hath vnto this late action.

Sleydan. lib. 6. After the suppression of this former Rebellion, and about the yeere of the Lord 1527. *Anabaptistrie* began mightily to spreade it selfe in sundry partes of *Germanie*, euen as Cockle and Darnell doth (by the sowing of the enuious man the Deuill) among good wheate. It happened that in the yeere 1532, one *Bernard Rotman* first, & afterward fise others (sent to assist him from the *Lantzgrane of Hesse*) began to preach the Gospell truely, in and about the sayde Citie of *Munster*. In the yeere 1533. one *Iohn* surnamed of *Leyden* a towne in *Holland* (hauing none other knowen surname, by reason of his ignobilitie, being but a Cobler, or a Currier by his occupation) came vnto the Citie of *Munster*. This Cobler was an egregious *Anabaptist* vnder pretence of professing the Gospel, & of an hatred he had of *Popery*, hee insinuated himselfe into the acquaintance of the Preachers of the Citie of *Munster*: but when it happened once that in answere to a question of his (in that behalfe made) they told him, that yong infants ought to be baptized, he laughed at them, as it were in scorne and of pitie of their ignorance. Not long after this,

Idem. lib. 10.

this, one *Herman Staprede*, a Preacher came also thither: but hee preached openly against the baptisme of yong children. By these meanes (but especially by their secret assemblies and conuenticles by night) this heresie of *Anabaptisme* spred it selfe largely throughout that Citie, so that great speeche was made in euery place thereof: albeit no certaine knowledge was had, because they admitted none other to their close assemblies but such, as stood alike perswaded. This their course beeing come to the Magistrates eares, all that fauoured that opinion, and had assembled themselves in any such dangerous conuenticles, were (by a generall Edict) banished the Citie: but as they went out at one gate, so (being confident vpon their multitudes) they returned in at another: pretending that they were commaunded by God to stay there, and to deale more earnestly and resolutely in their businesse. It happened, that *Rotman* (who before had preached against them) beganne at that time, to shewe himselfe to be a fauourer of their opinions: which thing gaue also great incouragement vnto them, insomuch as they then chalenged the sound Preachers (which stood against them) vnto disputation. But when this challenge was accepted, so that learned and graue Iudges and assistants might be chosen, and that whatsoeuer should be determined, might firmly be stood vnto, and obserued of all without further contradiction: then they shrunke backe, and refused disputation vpon any such conditions. Hereupon they beganne to be lesse esteemed with the people, then they were afore; therefore to recouer their former reputation with them, they deuised another more short and plausible course, which was this. About the ende of *December*, one of them pretending to be diuinely inspired, and to be rauished in spirite, did goe through the streetes of the Citie, crying, *Repent, Repent, and bee againe baptized, or else the iudgements and wrath of God will quickly and suddenly ouerwhelme you.* By this occasion, many of them which afore did lurke secretly in corners, and kept themselves close, came suddenly abroad, and in great routes and plumpes ranne together (with the former crye) into the chiefe streete of the Citie beeing the Market place, making great outcries, that all which were not rebaptized in token of repentance, should be slaine as heathens, and as vngodly men. After this, (with sundry great outrages done by them against many of the Citizens) they inuested themselves of the *Guyld hall* or Towne-house, and of all the Artillerie and Munition of the Citie: so that many persons, what vpon credulous simplicitie, and

1533.

1534.

what for sauing their goods and liues, were content to bee rebaptized with them. Neuerthelesse, others (for sauegard of their goods and themselves in this perillous vprore) betooke themselves to a place in the Towne, very strong by naturall situation, and apprehended many of the seditious *Anabaptistes* for prisoners. These skirmishes lasted betwixt both the parties, vntill they grewe to a parley and composition, giuing hostages eche to other, for obseruance of it. And albeit the sayde *Roman*, and one *Bernarde Cnipperdoling* (being chiefe in the faction) had also allowed of such composition: yet by their sundry Letters, priuily and vnder hande sent vnto others of their faction and secte in places and Cities abroad, they trecherously (from time to time) inuited very many, (though it were with losse of their goods abroad) to retire themselves to dwell at *Munster*: assuring them of tenne times as much, as they did forgoe. Heereby the Citie beganne to bee replenished with strangers of that faction, insomuch as most of the wealthie and graue Citizens, fearing whereunto it might tende, abandoned the Citie, and left it to the *Anabaptistes*, and to the rest of the common sort. Thus becoming masters of the place, they by and by put out all the olde *Senators* or *Counsellours* of that estate, and the two *Consuls* (becing the chiefe Magistrates) and put others in their places, and namely they called *Cnipperdoling* to bee one of their *Consulles*. Then they fell to burne, ryfle and deface the Churches, and in plumpes went through the streetes, crying, *Repent, Repent*: and immediatly after, *Auoyde all yee wicked, vpon perill of your liues*. Whereupon all the *Anabaptists* put themselves in Armes, and (according to their proclamation) draue out of the Citie, all whome they supposed not to be of their secte, without regard either of age or sexe. Insomuch as diuers womē with childe through the great throng and their ouerhastie departing, pitifully miscaried. This banishing & proscription happened the very day afore the *Bishop* of the Citie being also temporall lord thereof, planted his siege against the towne, for reuolting from his obedience. In the midst of all these outrages, sundry (calling themselves *prophets*) did arise vp amongst them; who pretended to haue *extraordinarie* callings, gifts, functions, and reuelations from God; the chiefe whereof was one *Iohn Mattheue*, next to him was the said *Iohn* of *Leyden*, and then *Cnipperdoling*, *Cresthing* and some others. This *Mattheue* (their principal *Prophet*) charged euery man (vpon paine of

of death) to bring all his gold, siluer, & moueable goods into a great common storehouse appoynted for that purpose; to the ende they might be vsed & bestowed in cōmon: for so he protested to them, it was the wil of his heavenly Father. The people were greatly grieved with this rigorous Edict; neuerthelesse they obeyed, though sore against their wils, Neither was it possible (wout great danger) for any to conceale or hide any part from them, because there were in y Citie two gyrls, soothsayers, that did reueale whatsoeuer was concealed, at least so it was beleueed. Then the sayde *Matthewe* commanded euery one to bring all his bookes whatsoeuer (sauiing the *holy Bible*) to be publikely burned, which was accordingly perfourmed. Thus taking great confidence & boldnesse that his hestes and aduises were so readily obeyed, and had so good successe; hee most insolently and cruelly thrust in with a Pike, and after shotte in with a Harquebuze one *Hubert Trueteling*, onely for a merie ieste that he made, touching one of their Prophets. Yet seeing that hee did not die thereof out of hand, the sayde *Prophet* tolde them, it was reuealed to him from heauen, that *Trueteling* should liue, and continue, and that God had forgiuen him. Neuerthelesse, hee dyed of his wounds within fewe dayes after. Then *Matthewe* got into his hand a long pyke; and running hastily therewith through the Towne towards the gates, he proclaymed as he went, that God the Father had commanded him to beate backe all y enemies (that besieged them) from the towne. But beeing met neere the campe, by one onely souldier, he was by him thrust through, and so died. And albeit the falsehoode of his forged prophesies was thus twise detected, yet the other prophets (his companions) did so disguise the matter, & bewitch the people, that they could not perceiue his coggeries, but did rather much lament his death, as a matter ominating some great mishap towards them, for that so excellent a man was taken away. Yet *Iohn of Leyden* comforted them, saying, that God had reuealed vnto him long before, that *Matthew* should haue such an end, and that he should marrie his widow. Some few daies after, *Cnipperdoling* also prophesied, that *high mountaines should be brought low, and the poore and meane should be exalted*: and thereupon commanded all which was left standing of the Churches to be demolished euen w the ground: assuring them (and that w a constant settled grauitie and great earnestnesse) that this commandement came from God himselte: & in further accomplishment (as may seeme) of

of such his prophesie: *Iohn of Leyden* gaue to the saide *Cuipperdoling* the sworde of execution, and so made him the common hangman of the Citie, that immediatly afore was *Consull* and chiefe Officer. This office of Executioner (belike vpon compact betweene them) he willingly accepted, and obeyed *Leyden* therein, as the messenger of God. Now after that some assaults had bene made against the Citie, by the Bishops Armie besieging it, (albeit with no successe) *Iohn of Leyden* layde him downe to rest, and dreamed three dayes together. Being awaked, hee spake not a worde to any person, but calling for paper, writte downe the names of twelue men (whereof some were in deede Gentlemen of blood) who shoulde haue the soueraigne charge of all, and should gouerne the Citie, as the heads of the tribes did in *Israel*: for so he sayd, it was y^e heauenly Fathers will. But hereby (in very trueth) he layde the foundation of a kingdome, whereunto he aspired. Then hee propounded vnto their reformed Preachers, certaine articles to be resolued in by the Scriptures alone: by which if they could not confute them, then he would (as he sayd) put them vp vnto the people, that by their authoritie they might be established. The effect of them was, that a man was not bound vnto one wife, but might marry so many as him selfe lusted. When their Preachers made some difficultie and sticking at it, hee called them into the *Counsell house*, together with the twelue new *Gouernours* or *Elders*. Then he put off his cote and layde it and the new Testament downe together afore them, swearing by those two (as by assured tokens) that the articles by him proposed, were reueiled vnto him from heauen, & that God would neuer bee mercifull vnto them, if they did not yeelde vnto them. Hereupon they gaue their assents, and after (for three dayes together) they preached of nothing but of marriage. Then *Leyden* married three wiues: one whereof was the widowe of their great Prophet *Matthewe* lately deceased, and diuers other followed the like example, as if it had bene a matter most allowable and lawdable. But some of the Citizens (of better disposition) finding this course to be most abominable, gaue a watch word through the towne for all that truely fauoured the Gospel without fantastical nouelties, to come into the Market place: where being assembled, they apprehended *Leyden*, *Cuipperdoling*, and all the rest of their *Prophets*. But when the common people were aduertised hereof, they straightway tooke Armes, and rescued the prisoners from them. The
people

people also layde handes on them, which had apprehended their *Prophets*, putting them to death with most exquisite tormentes: namely, they fastened fiftie of them vnto trees, and shotte at them with harquebuzes, their great Prophet (all the while) crying thus vnto them, that he that would doe God good seruice, should first shoote at them; and others were put vnto sundry other seuerall kindes of death.

In the Moneth of *Iuly* that yeere, a new prophet (being a golde-smith by his trade) did arise vp amongs them: who hauing called the multitude together into the Market steede, signified vnto them, it was the will and commaundement of the heauenly Father, that *John of Leyden* should bee *Emperour* of all the earth; and that hee marching forth with a puissant armie, should destroy all Kings and Princes, but should spare the common people that loued righteousness and synceritie, to the intent hee may holde the seate of *David* his father, vntill the heauenly Father should receiue againe the kingdome: for (sayd he) godly men must onely rule in the worlde, after they haue once dispatched all the wicked out of the way. When the *Prophet* had ended these speeches, suddenly *John of Leyden* kneeled downe, and lifting vp his handes to heauen, sayde thus: *Brethren*, it is a good while agoe since I first knewe this, and yet would not hitherto publish it abroad: but nowe the Father hath vsed another Minister to bring it to passe and to proclayme it. So hauing (by this subtiltie) compassed to bee King, hee first deposed the twelue *Gouernours*, and after the maner of other Kings, did choose and create sundry to be great Lordes about him: hee also caused two Crownes of pure golde to be made for himselfe, and a Royall robe, coller and scepter, with other complements of Maiestie. He assigned also certaine dayes, wherein he would giue audience to all complaynants and suters. Whensoever he came abroad, he was attended with his Officers and gentlemen of his Court, and with two yong henchmen on horsebacke, the one on his right hand carying the *Bible*, and the other on his left, carying a drawen sword. He had also a magnifical Throne prepared and set on high for him, with a golden cloth of Estate. At a certaine time, when the King was thus set in his Maiestie, and the people thronged close together about him, *Cuiperdoling* one of the prophets, gotte vpon the peoples heads; and so creeping along on his hands and feete, hee breathed vpon them in their mouthes one after another, saying thus:

thus: the Father hath sanctified thee, receiue the holy Ghost. Certaine weekes after, the new Prophet (afore mentioned) caused (by sounde of a Trumpet) to bee proclaymed, that all should retyre themselues in armes vnto the Churchyard of the chiefe Church, for that the enimie must be repelled from the towne. Comming thither, they found a great supper ready prepared. Then there sate downe to supper (as they were commaunded) foure thousand: and after these had supped, one thousand moe (that had wayted) sate downe. The *King* also, and the chiefe *Queene*, together with their courtiers did serue at table. The supper being towards an ende, the king gaue bread vnto euery one of them, saying, *Take, eate, and shew forth the Lordes death.* Then the *Queene* presented them with the cup, saying, *Drinke, and shew forth the Lords death.* This being done, the said prophet got him vp into a pulpit, and asked them if they would obey the word of the Lord? which when they had yeelded vnto that they would, he saide it was the *Fathers* commandement, that eight and twentie *Doctors* or *Teachers* should be sent forth into all the corners of the world, to teach y doctrine that was taught and receiued in that Citie. Then he named them all, and the particular place whither ech of them should goe. So after all was done, they let the said eight and twentie Preachers out of the towne by night very closely, for feare of those without, who besieged them: giuing to euery one (aboue that which should defray his charges) one peece of gold, and commanding them to leaue it at such places where their doctrine should not be receiued, for a testimony of such peoples damnation, & euerlasting perdition, for refusing such message & wholesome doctrine. When those Preachers were come to the places assigned vnto the, they cryed in the streets of the townes where they came, *Repent, repent, or els you shall all quickly perish.* Then they spred their garments on the ground before the Magistrates, & vpon them they laid the pieces of gold which were afore deliuered vnto them, assuring them, and protesting that they were sent from the heauely father, to bring them peace & mercy: and if they would receiue it, then they must giue vp all their goods to be vsed in common: but if they refused it, then that signe & token should be a witness against them of ingratitude & rebellion against God. For (sayd they) now is the time come that was spoken of afore by y *Prophets*, in which righteousness shall reigne in the earth vniuersally; & when the *King* (meaning *Iohn a Leyden*) hath brought to passe, that righteousness

reousnes shal rule in euery place, the *Christ* shal giue vp his kingdom to his Father. But these preachers being hereupon apprehended, they resolutely stood in it, & defended, that they onely held the true doctrine, which they would mainteine vpon peril of their liues. Being asked, w^h what iustice they could enter vpon, and possesse other mens wiues, children & goods as they did? they said, The time was come forespoken of by *Christ*, that *the meeke should possesse the earth*, & that God gaue these vnto them, as he did giue the goods of the *Egyptians* vnto the *Israelites*. They affirmed also, y^e king *Dauid* & *Iohn a Leyden* were two righteous prophets: but y^e *Pope* & *Luther* were both false prophets: whereof *Luther* was the worse. Thus stil persisting obstinate in their erroneous opinions (notwithstanding y^e tortures which they endured) they were al beheaded, sauing one of them, that escaped away by flight. Whiles these things were thus in doing within and abroad, the citie of *Munster* was euery day more & more straitly besieged, and pressed with extreme famine, so that for feare lest many y^e chiefe *Burgers* should capitulate with the enemy, & yeelde the *King* vp vnto the *Bishop*, their *King* therefore did chuse twelue, whom he held most faithful vnto him, & appointed them to be captaines of warre ouer so many seuerall parts of the towne, into which he did quarter it: entertayning the said twelue persons with mountaines of large promises, and telling them ouer what great Prouinces & Dominions vnder him he would after place them. Thus the famine stil more & more encreasing in the Citie (so that sundry died thereof, albeir the *King* had abundance for himselfe & his special fauourites, not onely for supply of necessitie, but also to ryot & banquet) it happened, that one of his *Queenes* in commiseration of the distressed, said vnto the rest, that shee could not beleue it was the wil of God, that meⁿ should in that sort be suffered to die for want of food. Hereupon being accused, she was brought into y^e market place, & being commanded to kneele down, the king strake off her head; al the rest of his *Queenes* singing, dancing, & giuing thāks therfore to the *heauenly Father*. But whē as the cōmon sort had like to haue mutined, by reason of the extremitie of famine, their *King* promised them assured deliuerāce from God before *Easter*. When *Easter* was come, no signe or tokē of their deliuerāce appeared. Then the king fained himself to be sicke for sixe dayes: afterward (assembling the people into y^e market steed) he told them, that all that while he had ridden vpon a blinde Ass, and that *the Father* had laid vpon him

the sinnes of the whole multitude, so that now they were cleansed and freed from all vice: which was the deliuerance which he promised vnto them, & therewith they were to holde themselves contented. When the *Bishops* strength, by common supplies from the *Princes* of the *Empire* were much reëforced, matters (in the town) grewe to that extremitie, that by meanes of two persons (who conueyed themselves secretly forth of the towne) it was at last surprised by the assaylants, though with much adoe and bloodshed, euen after they were entred. Their *King*, with *Cnipperdoling* and *Creceliting* their two false prophets were taken aliue: but *Rotman* their *Reformed preacher* (seeing no hope to escape) desperately ranne in amongs the thickest of the armed companies, and by them he was cut in pieces. The three persons aforenamed were caryed about the countrey, as a spectacle to sundry the *Princes* and others thereabouts, and after were brought backe againe vnto *Munster*. The *Bishoppe* of *Munster* demaunded of the *King*, by what authoritie he tooke vpon him to rule in that Citie? who asked the sayde *Bishoppe* againe, by what authoritie he the sayd *Bishoppe* claymed any power there? When he answered, that he had it by meanes of election of the *Chapter*, and by consent of the people, the *King* replying, sayde, that himselfe had his authoritie from God. After two dayes had bene bestowed with them, to reduce them (by godly perswasions) from their errours, *Leyden* their *King* confessed his sinne, and desired forgiuenesse at *Christes* handes. But *Cnipperdoling* and *Creceliting* would confesse no fault, but defended their course and opinions with great obstinacie. So all three being tyed vnto postes, were dismembred by peece meale, and pulled in small peeces with hotte burning pinners and tongs, and afterward their carkases were hanged vp there in yron cages; but the *King* in the midst, and much higher then the other two, as his place required.

Besides certaine especial opinions which these *Anabaptists* held, namely, y^e yong childre were not to be baptized, & touching lawfulnessse, of *Poligamie* or hauing many wives: Of communitie of goods, and that *Christ* tooke not flesh of the virgin *Mary* &c. they also taught and defended many other strange, erroneous and hereticall positions: and yet they shewed as much deuotion, outward holines and puritie, as might be. As for example, they held these folowing: viz. that a perfit *Christiã* might not exercise y^e office of a *Magistrat*, nor might take an oth before him: that God doth now oftentimes shew his will by extraordinarie reuelations,

reuelations, dreames, and visions: That the common people haue an especiall authoritie in determining and establishing of Church causes: That before the day of iudgement the kingdome of Christ shalbe such, as that the godly and elect, shall ouerthrow & subdue all the wicked, and then they alone shall rule in the earth: That it is lawfull for the people to depose and put downe the Prince or Magistrate: That Ministers and others godly affected, ought to establish (though it were by force) a Reformation in all Countries: That Princes and Magistrates ought not to pursue this kinde of persons, for that they are innocents and the beloued people of God: That the seate of Dauid which was fallen downe must bee reestablished, and that Christ nowe in the latter ende of the worlde shall reigne externally vpon the earth: That the time of besiege (they then lined in) was that whereof Esaie prophesied, wherein the iust and godly were afflicted and persecuted: That the time of their deliuerance and enlargement was at hand: which should be like to that deliuerance of the Israelites from the thraldome vnder the Babylonians: And that then the wicked and vngodly shall receiue the guerdon and recompense of all their impieties committed against the saints, all the vngodly being ridde out of the way, the seate of righteousness should bee prepared and aduanced: That there is none efficacie or force in that baptism, wherewith infants are baptized. All which they obstinately defended, and yet (whensoeuer they were charged) they pretended that they would acknowledge and confesse their errors, if they should be shewed vnto them by the Scriptures, to be errors.

Nowe as I haue done afore, in the Historie of *Thomas Muncer*, I must craue leaue, that with the readers patience, I may also briefly compare and relemble some of the dealings and errors of the *Anabaptists* of the Citie of *Munster*, with the actions and opinions of these late conspirators, & of their *Disciplinarian* schoolemasters, from whom they haue sucked like poyson.

For did not *Hacket* (the most ignorant of all the three, being but an vnlettered Maltster) in like sort take vpon him to rule the other, and to mannage the whole action? and are not the most ignorant of such as be of this humor, most presumptuous to direct all others, and to discusse deepest doubts? Haue not their mutuall cohortations, and seditious instructions, with their conceiued prayers, and hypocriticall Fasts, (that they practised in priue conuenticles, and assemblies) giuen greatest strength to his faction, to the seduction of numbers? Haue not the Magistrates now as great cause to looke

into these proceedings, before they make head, vpon confidence of their multitudes? Haue not all the stayed and sounde Preachers of this land, by sundrie *Maleperts*, and nowe againe by *Arthington*, bene (most insolently) challenged vnto disputation? Hath not the cause of this pretended *Discipline*, beene neuethelasse quashed (oftentimes) in Pulpits, in publike disputations in the vniuersities, and by learned treatises written: whereby the weakenesse, and meagernesse of their childish collections, haue beene fully displayed? Will they make any haste, or dare they to offer disputation, if such conditions, assistants, and indifferent and learned Iudges as are fit, shall bee set downe and appoynted? and (being beaten from their ordinarie meanes) haue not these Conspirators, and such as haue animated them, betaken themselues vnto pretended *extraordinarie* callings, rauishings in spirite, caryings into Heauen, reuelations, dreames and visions? Haue they not seditiously filled our streetes with their like hypocriticall outcries of *Repent, Repent, &c.* and by gathering of Routes, tending to vproare and popular tumult? If their purposes had succeeded, and their prophecies of killing and massacring men (like swine) in *London* streetes, had come to passe; woulde the outrages, in haynousnesse, haue come any whit behinde those of *Munster*?

If this sort of persons haue bene gratified with any indifferent toleration, coulde their restless busie heads (though they haue promised otherwise) cease to hammer, by long hand, and secretly, the bringing to full effect of their designements, viz. That they might gouerne in the Church with *Christes* scepter, and administer his kingdome? for so they (blasphemously) terme *the Discipline*, which they haue forged? Was not the displacing of her Maiesties *Counsell* plotted by the Confederates, and had they not assigned other *Counsellors* in their roomes? Should those, whome themselues had thus chosen and assigned, haue remained long in place, if their *King Hacket*, had bene once inuested, as fully and royally as *John a Leiden* was in *Munster*? Woulde they not quickly haue brought them downe, as *Cnipperdoling* was, from being *Consull* to the basest roome of accompt, that might bee? woulde these (if they had preuailed)

led) haue spared (thinke yee) either place, age, or sexe, or shoulde banishment onely haue serued? No: *Viscera impiorum crudelia*. And did not *Hacket* take vpon him to bee as great a Prophet, as *Iohn Mathewe*, or *Iohn a Leiden* his successor? and *Coppinger* the Prophet of Gods mercie, as high as *Cnipperdoling*? and *Arthington* the Prophet of Iudgement, and penne of a ready writer, as refined and excellent, as *Crechting* the goldsmith? had not these also appoynted out *Wigginton* and *Lancaster*, to bee their assistants for a time, as it were their petie Prophets? Did they not pretende the will of the *Heauenly Father*, for euery most vngodly, and absurd motion, speech, or action, as namely for the defacing of her *Maiesties Armes*: and that shee shoulde not bee prayed for? Did not these pretend and feigne, to bee in high fauour with God, and that they could tell secretes, and things to come, meerely contingent, and to bee able to cast out Deuils, and to obtaine rayne at pleasure? matters of as great difficultie and vnlikelyhoode, as soothsaying and bewraying of things concealed? Did they not inueigh against the humane wisdom (of diuers of their owne iudgement) whome they supposed not to bee forward ynough? and doe not many of the *Disciplinarian* veine, despise and condemne all helpes of good Artes and learning, as little lesse then impious, but specially in Sermons? Was not *Mathewe* the chiefe Prophet of *Munster* his fanfie stronger, and his resolution greater, then these Conspirators shewed in any part of their action: when hee thought himselfe alone able to repell an whole hoste? and yet hee was not therefore accompanied furious, madde, or distracted of his wits? Was not *Coppinger* likewise, as deeply bewitched as the people of *Munster*, when hee coulde not perceiue, that *Hacket* did but dally with him, about particular intelligence of some treasons, supposed to bee plotted by some great persons? had not these three, and this sort of *Humorists*, as great enuie at olde and *Cathedrall Churches* and others: when as they seeke to procure their ouerthrowe? Did not *Coppinger* fanfie, to haue had his *extraordinarie callings*, and *enlightnings*, by dreames in his sleepe? Had they not likewise appoynted their gouernours for matters of

of *Conseill*, and for other ciuill administration? Doe not this kinde of persons also make shewe of desire, to haue all questions decided alonely by Scriptures? Doth not *the Discipline* giue the chiefe and soueraigne allowance or disallowance of all Ecclesiasticall determinations, vnto the whole congregation? Did not these Conspirators vse (as meanes to bee trusted that God had reuealed such things vnto them) othes and execrations of damnation and confusion to themselues, as deeply as *Iohn a Leiden* did, when he did sweare by his coate, and by the newe Testament, touching the like reuelation? Did not *Hacket* their great *Prophet*, thirst after, and threaten reuenge against some great persons, who hee though did stand in his way? Did not *Coppinger* and *Arthington* proclaime in the Market place of *Chepe*, and afterwarde defende, that *Hacket* was *King* and *Emperor* of all *Europe*, and that God had so appoynted it? Did they not holde, that he together with themselues, shoulde goe forth, and take possession of all his kingdomes here and abroad, and subdue all kings, that woulde not holde their scepters of him, and be gouerned by such lawes and orders, as he should appoynt: and that he should seuer with his Fanne, the good from the bad, so that they shoulde not trouble and afflict the godly any more? Had not *Hacket* also, his said *Prophets* to proclaime him publikely *King* of *Europe*, as *Iohn* of *Leiden* had the goldsmith? Did not *Coppinger* (vpon *Arthingtons* aduertisement) with three most lowly obey-sances, and with great grauitie, take vpon him, and was ready to annoynt, and sanctifie *Hacket* with the holy Ghost, but that (by a shift) he was put off? and as they of *Munster* had their prophane and impious celebration of the Communion, before they sent forth their 28. Preachers; In like maner, had not these, their hypocritical fasts and prayers, promulgated and made knowen, vnto sundry of their owne disposition, that they might ioyne (either in bodie or spirit) with them, afore they enterprised any matter, or entered consultation of weight, or would assume their supposed extraordinary callings? Doe not these, and all like affected to them, by their teachers in euery corner, seeke to winne or perswade, as many to the liking of their opinions, as possibly they can any way compasse, and hemme in? Haue they not also their sette, emptie, thundring wordes, and solemne obtestations, to allure men to beleue that, which they teach? Did not the said two *English Prophets*, offer by their Proclamation, great mercie and ioyes to them that should

should beleue or follow them; and infinite woes and damnation; to those that should reiect them? did they not signifie, that the time was come for the establisshing the Gospell and Reformation; by their *K. Hacket*: and therefore willed all true *Christians* to be of good comfort, because the wicked should bee overthrowen? did they not engage their liues, yea and soules, vpon the veritie of the messages, that they published? and were they not a good while (after their apprehension) very obstinate and resolute in their fantasies conceiued? was not *Coppingers* promises of speedie deliuerance vnto *Vdall*, as confident and resolute as *Iohn a Leiden* was vnto the people of that Citie? though the event shewed, that at last all did but come, to the riding of a blind asse? did not *Hacket* likewise blasphemously affirme, that by the whipping which *Pigge* bestowed on him, he did suffer for the sinnes of all hypocrite preachers, such as fauoured the discipline, but were not so forward, as hee thought they ought to be? Was not the resolution of one of these, as lewd as *Rotmans* (who after all hope was past, ranne amongst the armed companies) if hee also did (as was sayd) with like wilfulnesse, refuse to take any sustenance? was not the desperatenesse of *Hacket* also most horrible and fearefully, when as (seeing no remedie but death) he opened his mouth blasphemously against heauen, and against the *Majestie* of the Eternall God? And concerning certaine opinions of the *Anabaptists*, doe not many of the *Disciplinarian* humour, come farre neerer vnto them then were to be wished? for though they denie not the ciuill magistrates superiouritie altogether: yet in causes Ecclesiasticall, though they admit it (in words) they allow vnto him nothing else but execution of their orders without attributing any superior preheminance of commaundement in church causes, for retaining of good order, &c of soundnesse of doctrine in the Church. Likewise, though they take not the soueraigntie from the chiefe magistrate in causes of the common wealth, doe they not so abridge and pouer his authoritie in causes Ecclesiasticall, that the very *Papists* doe attribute as much in this behalfe vnto him, as they doe? And albeit they will not absolutely in iudgement denie the lawfulnessse of an othe before a magistrate, yet if their sundrie and variable positions in this point be marked, they doe (in effect wholly) repeale the vse of it. For doe not some of them plainly refuse to take an othe, when by they may be vrged to discover any thing which may either be

penall to themselves, or to their *Christian* brother, and so in effect denie it altogether? Doe not others of them refuse to tel any thing that is criminall concerning any other person, though perhaps they will doe it against themselves, especially when they thinke it is afore discovered and knowen? Doe not some of them refuse an othe simplie, yea, and to answer (without othe) either affirmatiuely or negatiuely, but doe will their accusers to stand foorth? Doe not others deny to take an othe, except euery particular question be afore made knowen vnto them: a matter impossible, because sundry questions that shall be asked, doe arise foorth of the matter of the answer? And doe not sundry of them (albeit they yeeld to detect by othe both their own & others offences) yet denie to reueale any thing wherof they are asked, if theselues be perswaded the matter demanded of, be none offence? And so they do hang obedience to lawes, allegiance and duetic of subiects, vpon euery particular mans conceit, eue as he by circumstances, or his own fond perswasion, shall list to measure matters. Do they not resolutely hold, that *summa potestas*, the chiefe and Soueraigne power in all church-causes, belongs to a Presbyterie, who though they may consult, yet may not determine matter of any moment, without the allowance of the people? Had not these conspirators a like opinion to those of *Munster*, that the principall spirit of *Christ* (being in *Hacket*) hee was come with his fanne to seuer and dispatch out of the way, all the wicked and vngodly, from the good and godly? Hath it not bene set downe by an *English* subiect, and twise printed with singular allowance of the *English Arch. prophet of discipline*, for sound and *holie diuinitie*, that it is Gods ordinance, to haue in euery kingdom certain chiefe officers (like *Ephori* in *Lacedaemon*) who should haue authoritie to depose kings, though they come vnto it by lawfull succession, if they shall iudge them to be tyrants? Did not *Wiginton* deliuer for sound doctrine, that if the *Magistrates* did not gouerne well, the people might draw themselves together, and to see a *Reformation*? Doe not these kind of persons likewise slander the *Prince* and state, with persecution of the saints, and of innocent men, because they are a little restrained from running on in their seditious courses? Did not these conspirators also hold, that now in these later times, *Christ* by his principall spirit (imparted vnto *Hacket*) should raine and erect an eternall kingdom on earth, & in the world? And did they not fanfic, that euen as that time the Gospel

with

with their *discipline*, should be vniuersally established, and all the vngodlie abolished? Doe not all of the *Disciplinarian* secte holde, that to the very being of baptisme (and without which, it is of no more force in any case, then the nurses washing) it is required, that it be administred by a lawfull Minister? thereby derogating, not onely from the true baptisme of thousands, but also of all whome-soeuer, that were baptised by Popish sacrificing Priestes themselves, and from all that haue receaued baptisme of such, as were baptised by them? whereupon must needs followe necessitie of *rebaptization*, or else that it were lawfull to neglect and contemne that Sacrament, and high myserie of our saluation. Lastly, do they not make great shewes, and many pretenses, for all their vnsound and absurd opinions, that they are taken from the holie and sacred written word of God? which by this meanes they make to be of priuate interpretation, and do not reduce their senses vnto it, when they reade, but doe wickedly captiuate the Scripture vnto their owne senses and meanings? euen as (in this behalfe) *Coppinger* or *Arthington* did first take vpon them an *extraordinarie* calling, and were afterward charged by *Hacket*, to reade ouer the whole *Bible*, there to finde an approbation of it.

Scripturas ad
suum non su-
um sensum ad
Scripturas ad-
ducunt.

God of his infinite mercie forgiue, and turne the hearts of all that trouble his Church, from running wel, or that impugne his ordinance, and such as are set ouer them: and restraine, or roote out all fantasticall errorrs, & fanatical spirites, which the enuious man (from time to time) doeth sowe amongs the good wheate: that holding the vnitie of the spirite in the bond of peace, we may all meete together (in the vnitie of faith, and knowledge of the Sonne of God) vnto a perfite man, and vnto the measure of the age of the fulnes of *Christ*, and so speedily and ioyfully meete him our bridegrome in the cloudes, with our heades lifted vp, and full of comfort, and so reigne with him for euer, through the same *Iesus Christ* our Lorde: to whome with the
Father & the *Holie Ghost*, one eternall, immortall, inuisible, and onely wise God,
 be all honour, praise, glorie and
 dominion, now and for e-
 uer. Amen.